



The great poetry is the quest after the sublime, the beautiful, the Absolute Truth - सत्यं त्विदं सुन्दरं - a play at hide & seek in which this mystic poet finds himself in a willow weep. There as it were.

In aspiring to the throne of power, the angels transgressed and fell; in presuming to come within the oracle of knowledge, man transgressed and fell; but in the pursuit toward the similitude of God's goodness & love, neither man nor spirit ever have transgressed or shall transgress.

The philosopher may talk analytically for a thousand years about immortality, but a stanza from Wordsworth or a myth of Plato may place us in the near presence of the beautiful thing itself. The unique and individual flavour which distinguishes reality from its shadow may very well turn out to be found among those comparatively phantom objects known as works of art. The intuition of the poet is a surer revelation of reality than the analysis of the medical physician. Croce insists that the whole function of art is subsumed under the word 'intuition' - Intuition

Metaphor & simile are the poet's rebellion against routine impressions.

In dramatic force, Bhasa can be compared to Shakespeare or the Greek Tragedians; in psychological subtlety, he is a modern; his simplicity of expression puts him in a different ^{than Kalidasa and his followers - Meerwarth.}

Bhasa's dramas - A critical
Santayana remarks that a poet is a goldsmith in work

Study.

one of the glories of literature is the childlike freshness
of sensations impressions which the poet renders into his work

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व्यामोहाय जराजरस्य जगत्स्ते ते पुराणागमाः

नो नामैव हि देवतां परामिकां जस्यन्दुकल्पवधि
सिद्धान्तं पुनरेकं तव भगवान् विष्णुः समस्ताग

व्यापारेषु विवेचनव्यतिकरं नीतेषु निश्चीयते॥

विष्णुपुराण-I. 22-84 Poetry & literary creations, as
also music are but aspects of the Lord in His form
as Sound.

देवी स्वास्ति रसु नः । स्वास्ति मनुषेभ्यः ।

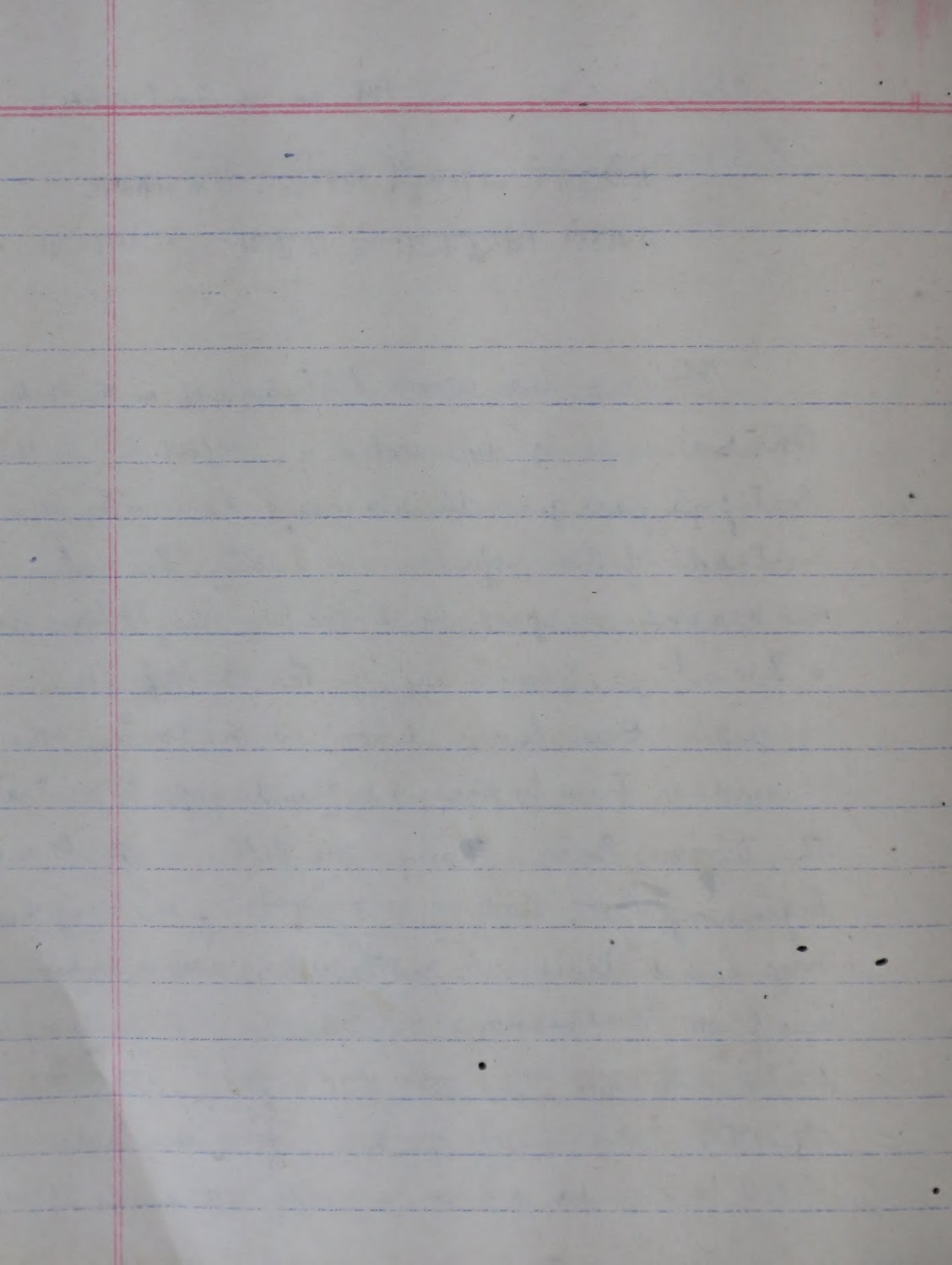
Contents

- 1st chapter - Was Bhāsa a Southerner?
- 2nd - - His ancient idioms.
- 3rd - Vālmiki, Vyāsa and Bhāsa.
- 4th - Bharata and Bhāsa.
- 5th - Kautilya, Smṛti writers and Bhāsa.
- 6th - Vātsyāyana and Bhāsa.
- 7th - Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Harivamśa and Bhāsa.
- 8th - Mahendra Vikrama Varma = Bhāsa?
- 9th - Śaktibhadra = Bhāsa?
- 10th - Speech blunders.
- 11th - Rāma dramas.
- 12th - Bhārata dramas.
- 13th - Dramas based upon Brhatkathā.
- 14th - Their excellence, conclusion.

Chapter 1 - Was Bhāsa a Southerner?

गणेश्वरं नमस्कुर्ये सिद्धिदायकसत्तमम् ।
तमसां विद्युरूपाणां प्रलयः स्मृतिमात्रतः॥

Writing the word *Kātyāyanī* in the *Bālaca*
Bhāsa inserts an extra 'r' before 't'; in the
Pratijñāyāngandharāyana he writes 'airāv
instead of the popular 'airāvata'. This natural
makes one suspect that Bhāsa might have been
a Keraliya. Similarly in the *Bālaca* I act
(page 521, Devadhar's Edition) in the context where
Vasudeva tries to persuade Nandagopa to protect
the Divine Baby, though the latter protests in the
beginning (यदि कंसो राजा इहोति, if the King hear
my head itself will go), Vasudeva reminds him of
his prior benefactions, Nandagopa gratefully repli
किं किं प्रत्युपकार इति । यदि कंसो वा भवतु, तस्य पितृग्रसे
वा भवतु, आनयतु भर्ता दारकम्. Here the last senten
Let it be Kamsa, or even his father Ugrasena, I fear not



I will have the child; this idiom is a peculiar Kannada or Tamil idiom, quite foreign to Hindi idiom. Though such usages are found in the Hindi of today, it is very clear that it must have been borrowed from Dravidian usages of the South. Continuing in this strain, the *Karnaabhāra Nāndī* exhibits the second letter rā alliterating in all the four lines:

नरभृगपतिवर्ष्मालोकनभ्रान्तनारी -

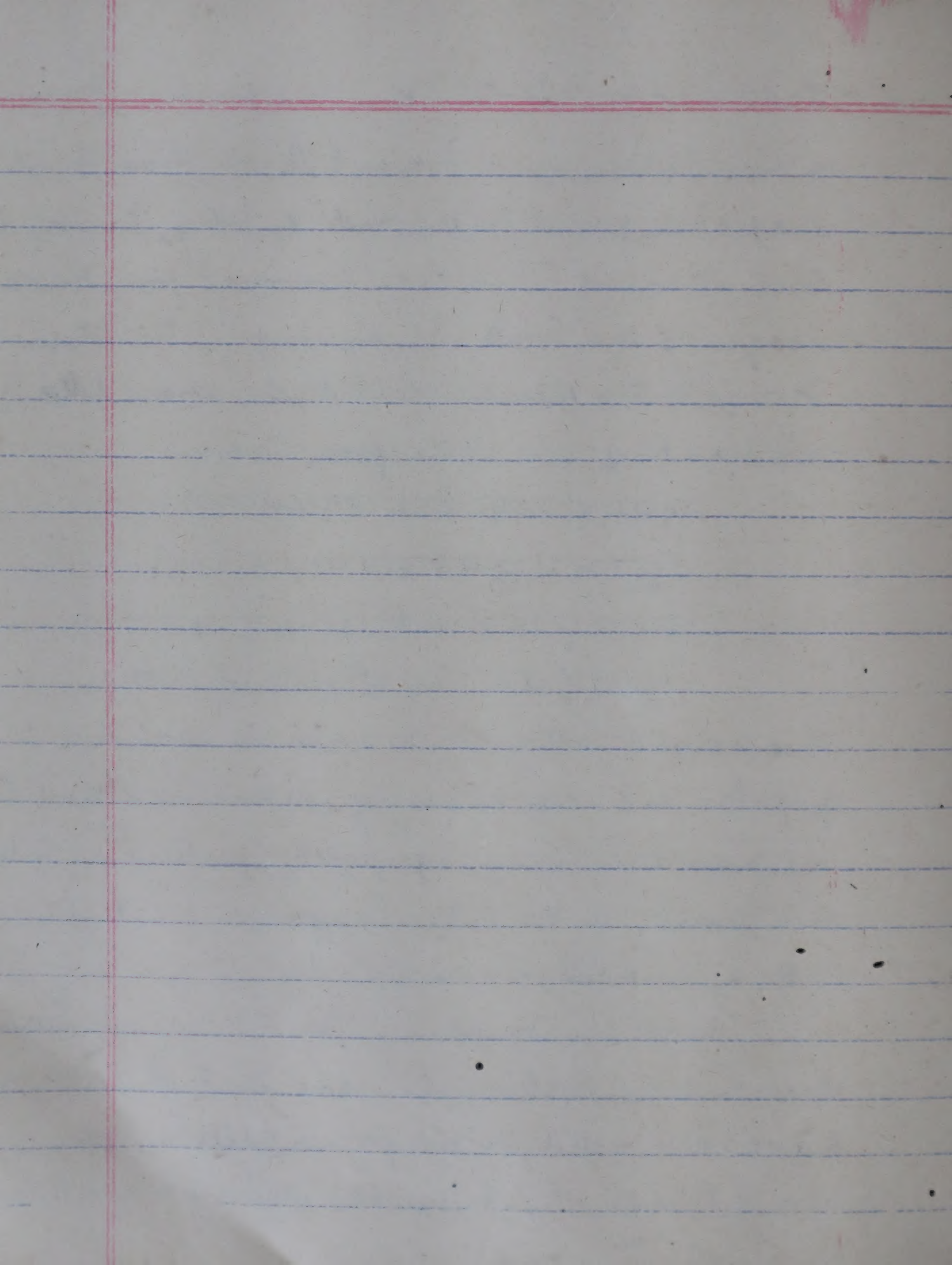
सुरदनुजसुपर्वत्रातपाताललोकः ।

करजकुलिङ्गापालीभिन्नदैत्येन्द्रवक्षाः

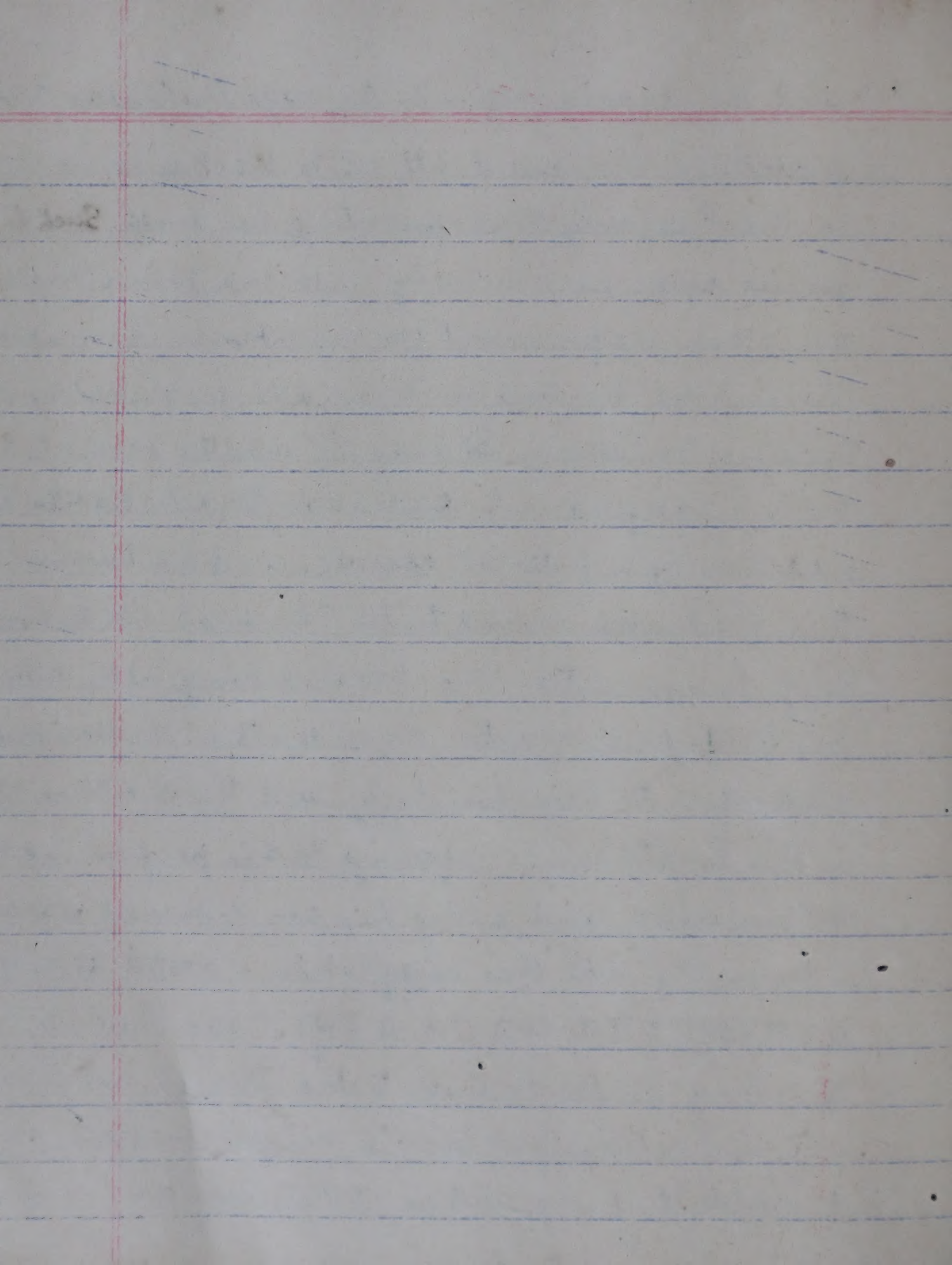
सुररिपुबलहन्ताश्रीधरोऽस्तु श्रियेव ॥

This second letter alliteration in each line is a popular and even necessary feature in almost all the Dravidian language poetry, particularly in Kannada and Tamil; in the latter language, it is dignified with a particular name - 'eduhai'.

Further, Comparing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* story and the *Bālacarita*, some mutual differences have been noted. If the former calls Sri Kṛṣṇa eight son of Devaki, the dramatist refers to him as the seven



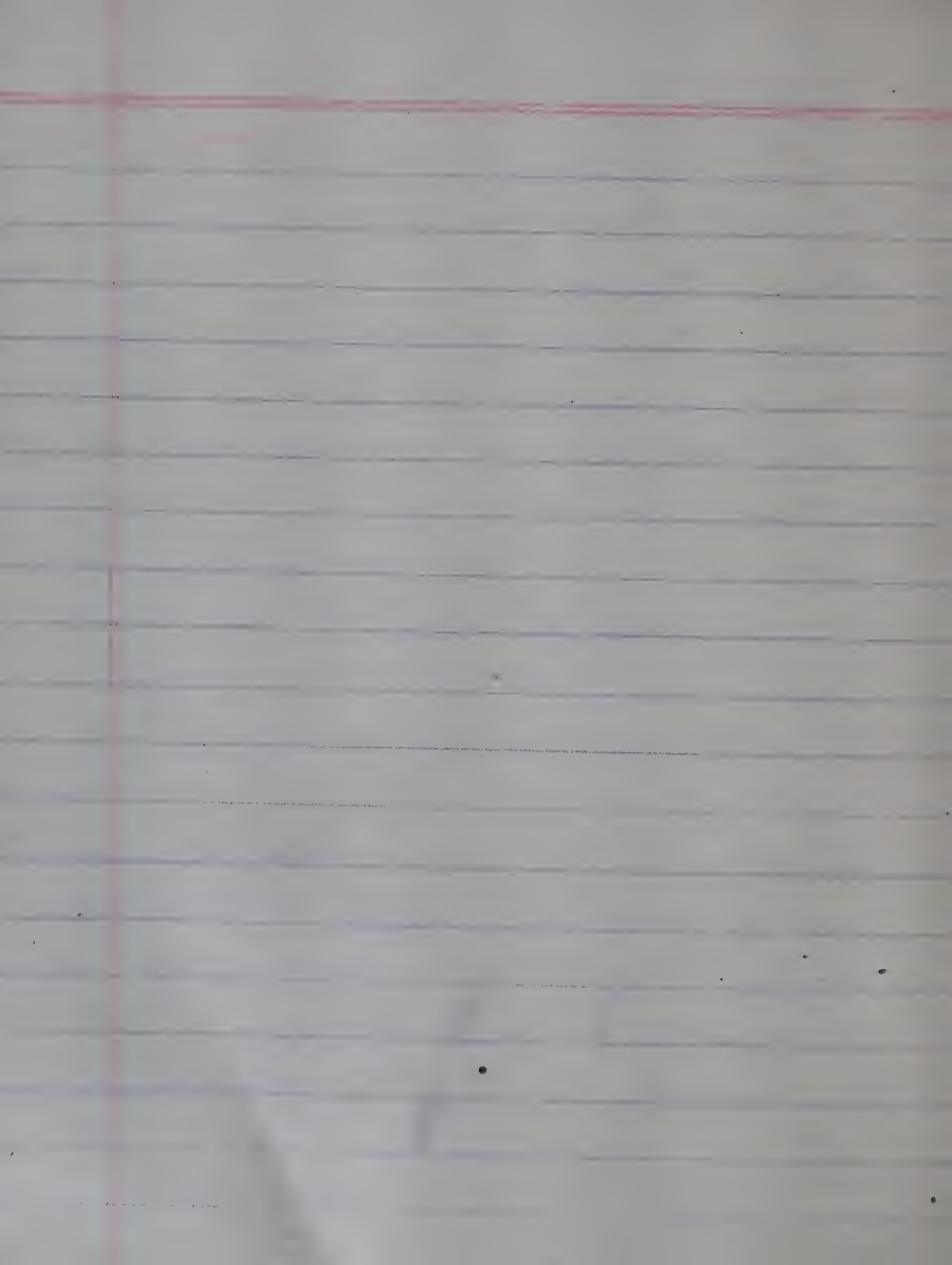
and the drama refers to the sage Madhuka's curse foretelling Kamsa's death while the other source refers to the heavenly voice foreboding his death. Such divergences agree particularly with the Jaina version of the story as preserved for example in Karmaparyas Neminātha Purāṇa in Kannada published by the Madras University. Bhāsa's Chārudatta seems to have been amplified into Sūdraka's Mrechakatika by the addition of a political episode and the law court case this Sūdraka seems to be identical with the Brahmin King Pusyamitra who became king after killing his Magadha master Brahadratha. The Harivamśa also refers to him similarly and the peculiar sloka in the Prastāvanā referring to his performing the Aśvamedha and seeing his son crowned agrees admirably with this suggestion - राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेन। खड्गेन च हृष्ट। This Sūdraka refers to many South Indian tribes though not in a complimentary fashion; it might therefore be probable that the author of the smaller version might



have some connection with the South.

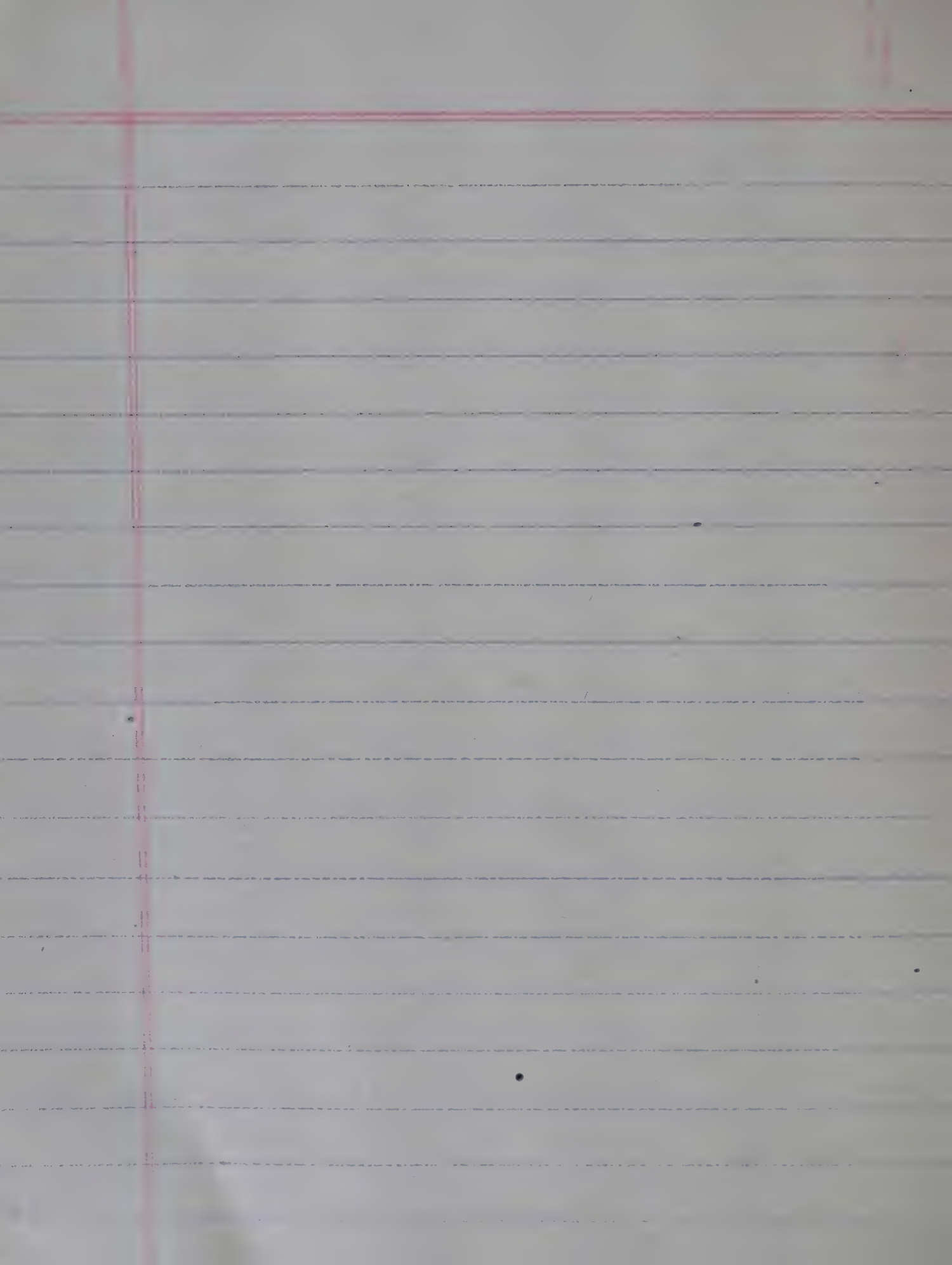
Four of the dramas of Bhāsa, the Avimāraka, Cārudatta, Pratijñāyauṅgandharāyana and Svapna-Vāsavadatta seem to be based on the Brhatkathā, that famous storehouse of legends, which is unfortunately lost for us now. The Piśācī dialect in which this story book seems to have been composed appears to have been Tamil and the book itself, for aught we know, might have been the 'Perumgadam'.

Taking all these into consideration, it appears probable that Bhāsa might have been a Southerner himself. But the fact that his descriptions of the South particularly in the Abhiseka do not reveal an intimate knowledge of South Indian geography, might be better explained by his having lived entirely in the North under Pusyamitra Śunga's patronage, even to the extent of completely forgetting his affiliations thereto.



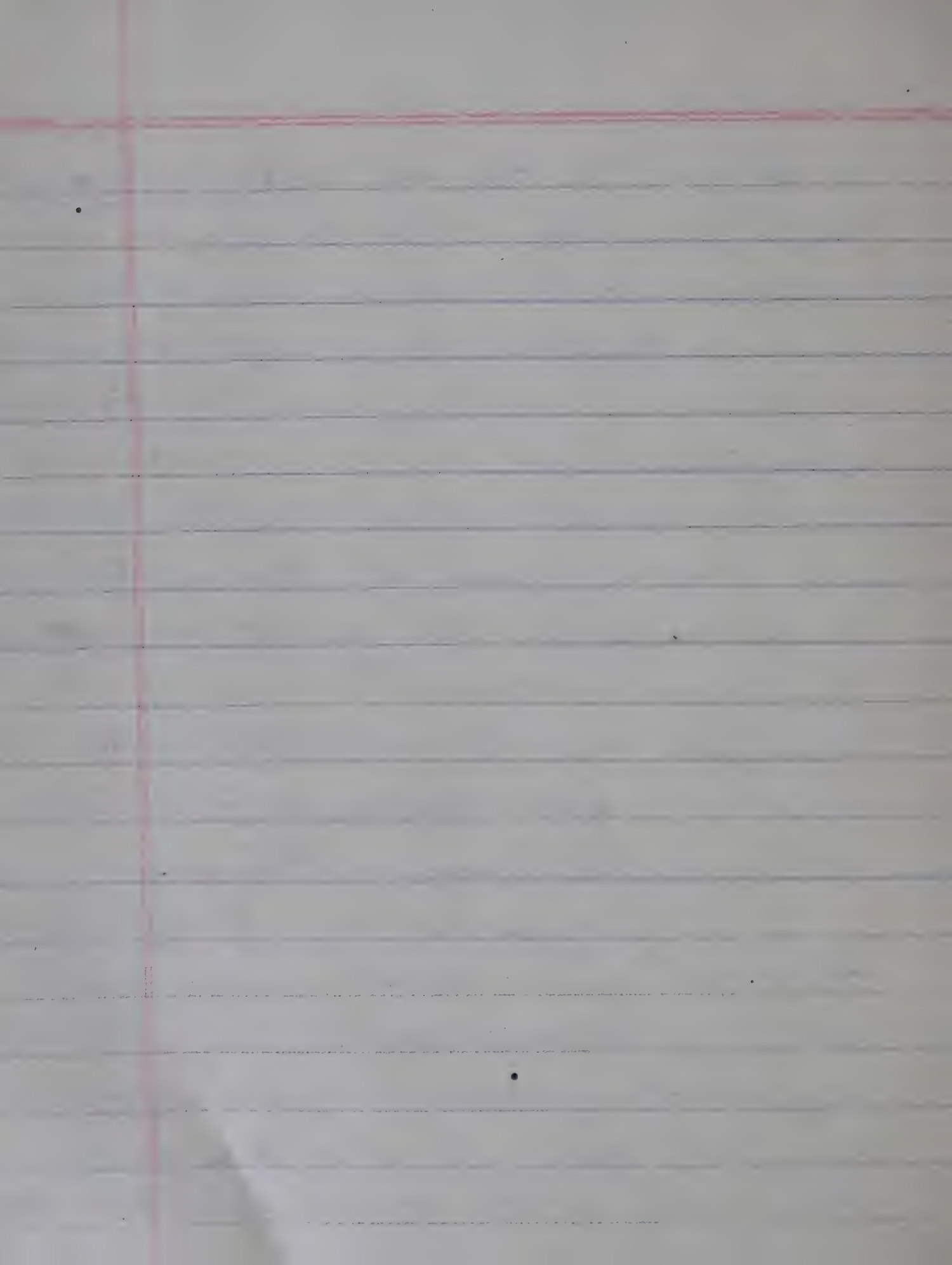
2nd chapter - The 13 dramas and their ancient usages.

From 1912 to 1915, the world of scholars were very highly delighted by the periodic publication of these 13 dramas of Bhāsa, who was till then believed to have been completely lost beyond redemption. For about 10 or 15 years in the beginning, the enthusiasm about these dramas seemed to have swept away the doubts of ^{all but} a few sceptics like Dr Barnett in London or Bhaṭṭa nāthaswāmin in India, but after this enthusiasm died out, many scholars have begun to doubt their authenticity; very often, a subdued optimism seems to reign now, since they suggest that these dramas might be the stage copies prepared by the Chākyārs or dramatic troupes of Malabar who must be thanked for having preserved these vestiges of the famous dramatist praised by Kaṭidāsa and Bāṇa, which are however entirely lost for us. But the fact has remained that these very popular dramas have been translated into



all the Northern and Southern languages of India much more than that, into most of the languages of the European Continent like German, French, Italian, Norwegian etc. This naturally seems to strengthen the suspicion that these dramas might really have been the same as those of the famous dramatist. A Study of the peculiar and ancient idioms as preserved in these dramas and more particularly their affiliation with Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Bharatamuni (the Indian dramaturgist) and other ancient poets prior to the Christian Era, is proposed to be done now on the assumption that the dramatist himself might have lived about 180 B.C. as a contemporary of Pusyamitra Sunga and Patanjali.

Of course the sloka $\text{त्रेतायुगं नष्टं न मीयते सा}$ quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinava Bhārati Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra (edited in Gaekwad oriental series vol II page 320) or the other famous sloka कपलं मार्जारः पय इति करान् लेहि शङ्खिनः



might not be found in these dramas, but they might be found in the dramas that might come to light at some future date. This apart, that Very Volume of Abhinavagupta's Commentary now referred to illustrates 'leśā' a literary quality on p 362 and quotes a passage from Arimāraka (though not giving Bhāsa's name) which is found word for word in the drama published from Trivandrum. The passage is : (= page 126, Devadatta)

मैं तो यथाविमारके द्वितीयं च धात्री नायकमाहु -

धात्री - आर्य, किं चिन्त्यते ?

अविमारकः , भवति, शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते.

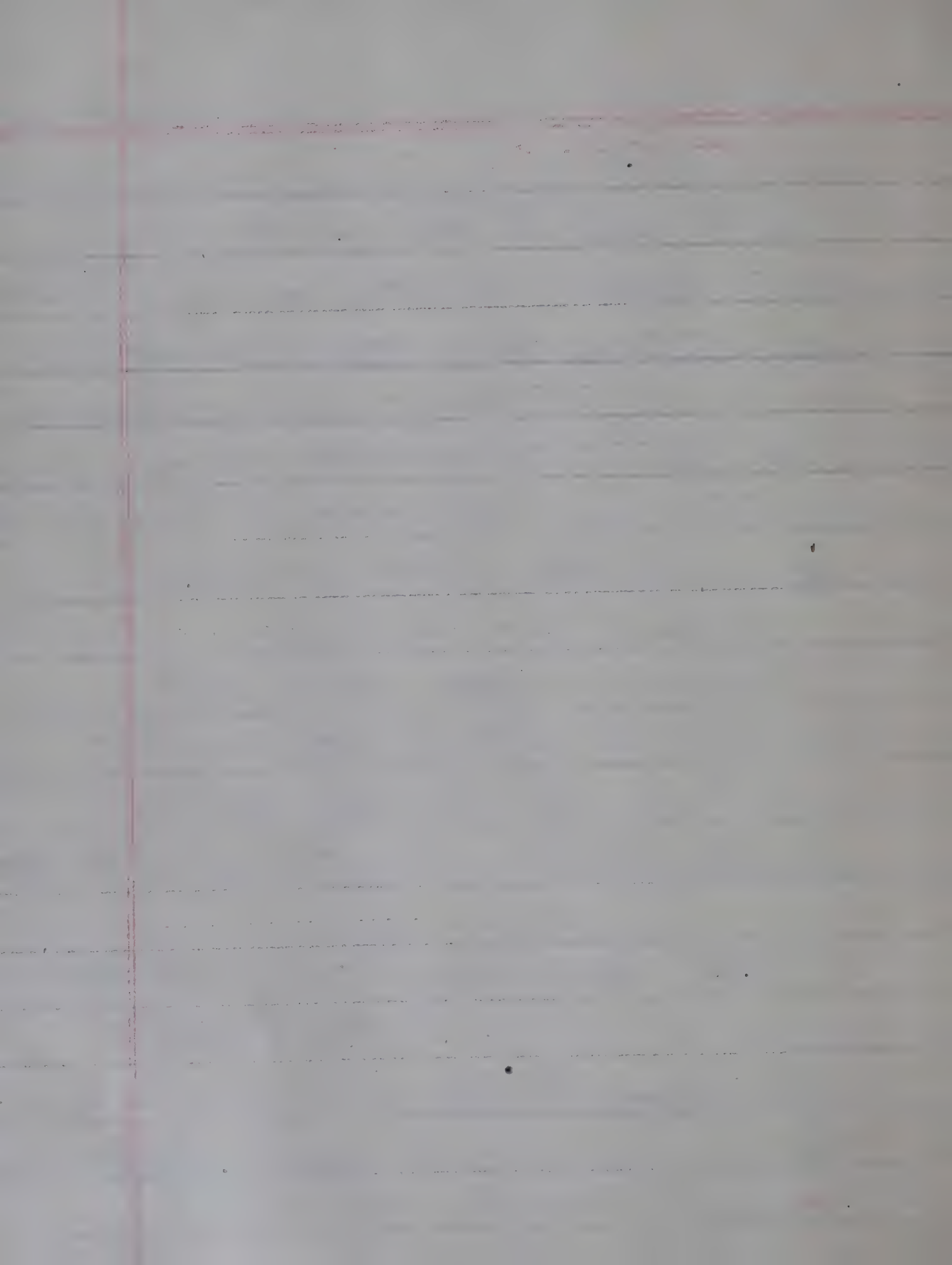
धात्री - किं नामैतत् शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते ?

अवि - भवति, योगशास्त्रं चिन्त्यते .

धात्री -(सस्मितं) - प्रातिगृहीतं मङ्गलवचनम् । योग-
शास्त्रमेव भवतु ।

अवि - को नु शास्त्रार्थः ? अयदणमिलापवशात्
अन्यथा संभावयामि.

The passage bristles with humour as anybody can see and seems to refer to a Yogasāstra, perhaps Māheśvarī's as referred to by Ravana in the



Pratimā. The same Abhinavagupta in that very book while illustrating the literary merit called Prasiddhi quotes another passage from Gadāyuddha which seems to have been the name by which Ūrubbhaṅga in this series was known then :- प्रासिद्धिः प्रसाधनैः

प्रकृष्टसाधकैः पूर्वमेव । सिद्धैः यथा गदायुद्धे बलदेवः
दुर्योधनमाह - भीमसेन इदानीं तव युद्धवचनामुत्पाद्य
स्थास्यति - दुर्योधनः - किं ताहं भीमसेनेन वञ्चितः ?

बलदेवः - अधकेन भवानेवंविधः कुतः ?

दुर्योधनः - श्रूयताम् ।

येनेन्द्रस्य स परिजातकतरुमर्निन तुल्यं हतै
दिन्यं वर्षसहस्रमर्णवज्जैः सुप्तश्च प्रेक्षितया
दीप्त्या भीमगदां प्रविश्य सहस्रानिर्व्याजयुद्धप्रियः
तेनाहं जगतां प्रियेण हरिणा मृत्योः प्रतिग्रहितः ॥

This Gadāyuddha passage is found word for word in Bhaṣa's Ūrubbhaṅga page 498 Śevadhāra. In the third line, instead of दीप्त्या, we find तीव्रं and in the fourth line जगतां the singular is found in place of the plural जगताम्. This may be quite

possible as a different reading. Perhaps the name Gadāyuddha was the more popular name and that name alone was accepted by a famous Kannada classic Jaina poet, Ranna in about the 10th cen. AD. Further on, this very Volume II of Abhinavagupta's Commentary on page 357 remarks - उपादिष्टं यथाविमर्शे

प्रथमोऽङ्के राजा - निम्नः

धर्मः प्रागेव सचिवगतमतिः प्रेक्षितव्याः स्वकुल्या
प्रजयाद्यौ रागदोषौ मृदुपुरुषगुणौ कालयोगेन कार्ष्ण,
शेयं लोकानुवृत्तं परचरनयजैः मण्डलं प्रेक्षितव्यम्
रक्ष्यो यत्नदिहात्मा रणशिरसि पुनः लेख्येनावेक्षितव्यः॥

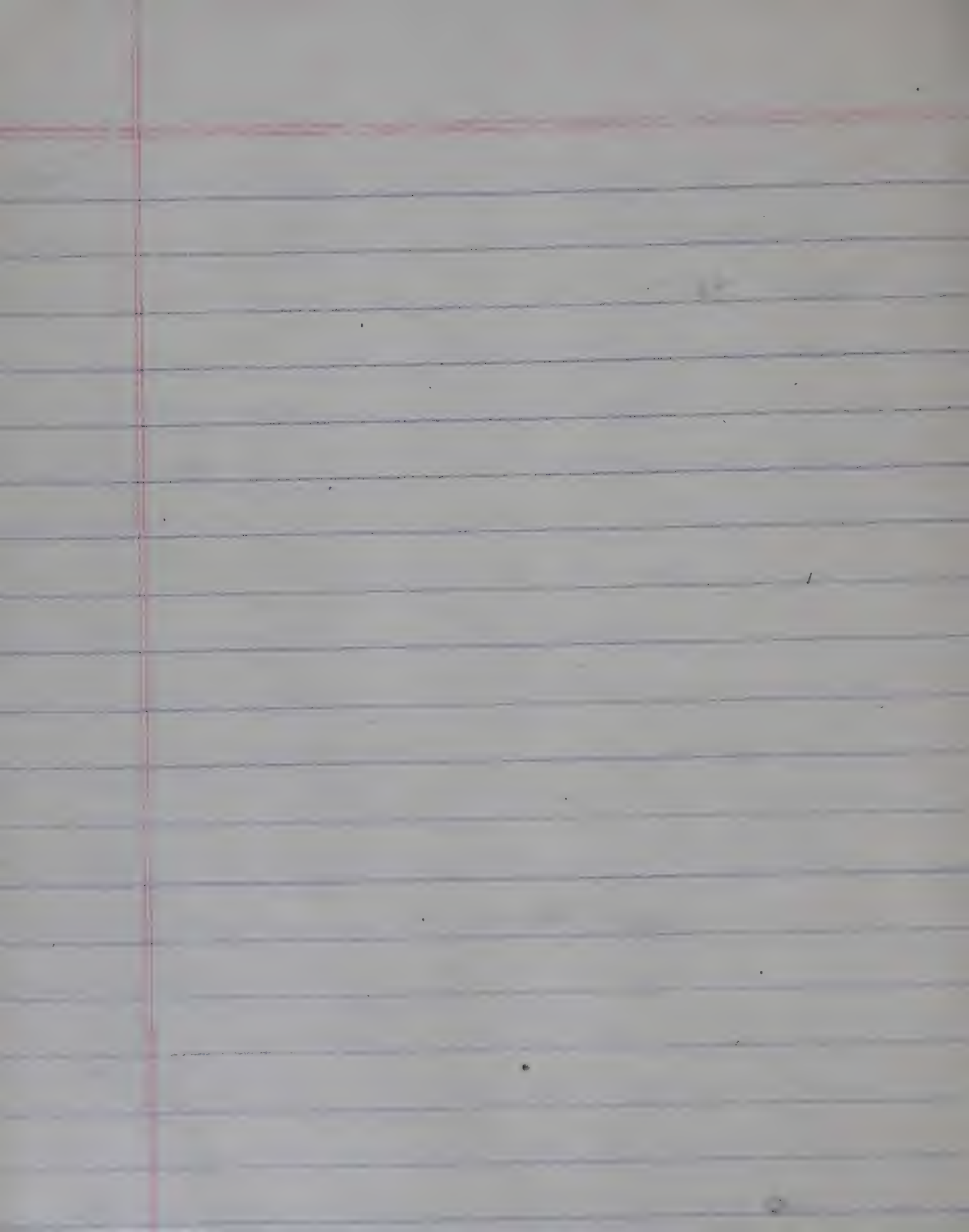
This sloka again is found word for word in Bhāsa page 117 Sevadhā. Arguing in a similar strain, Sri Venkatarama Sarma showed in the Indian Historical Quarterly in 1919 that an unpublished manuscript, the Sākuntala Vyākhyā preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras quotes almost word for word about five or six dramas of this series.

As we read the other dramas in this series

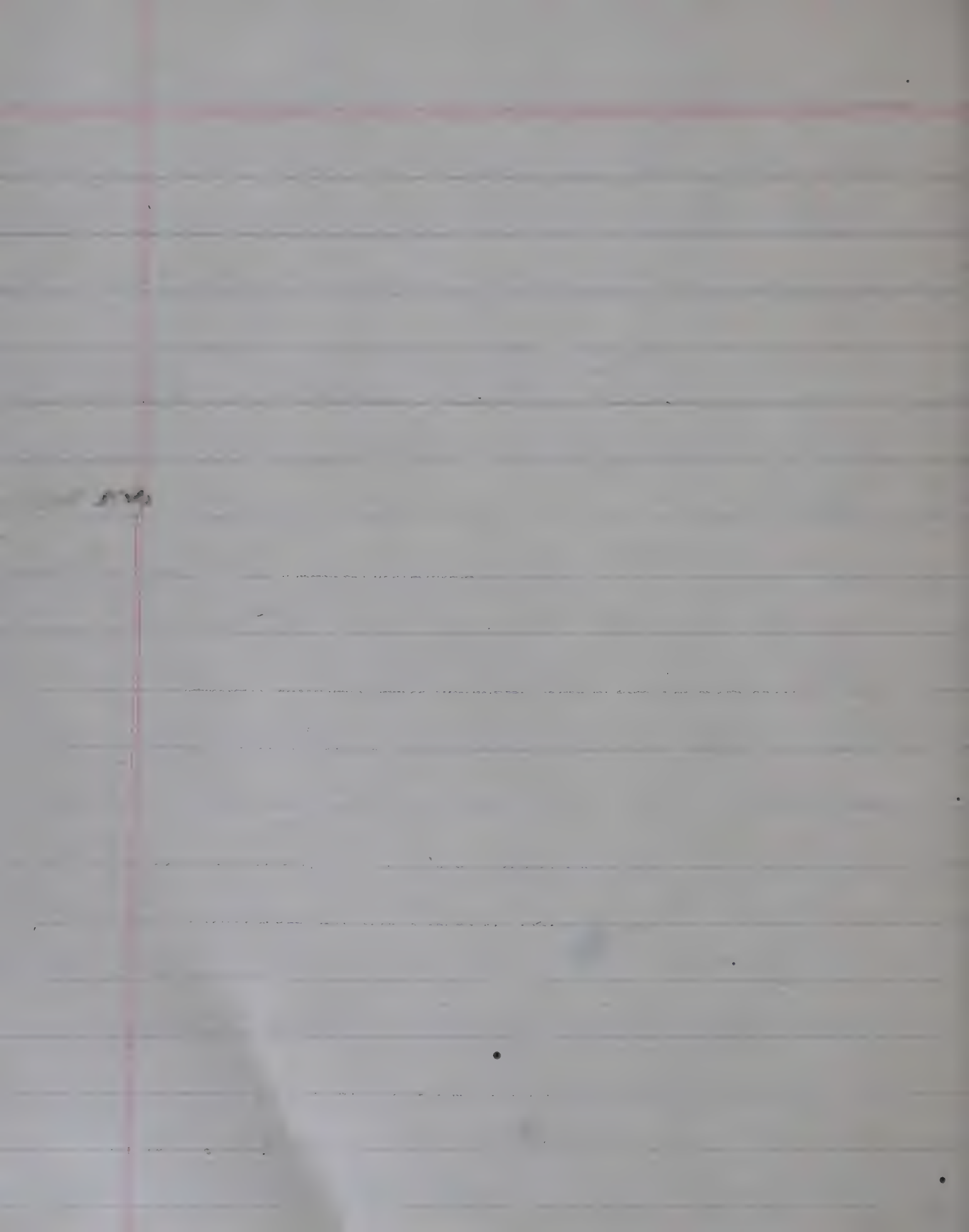
We came across a peculiar word इष्टापत्तिः in Pancharatna

II-46 - इष्टापत्त्या किं तु दुःखे हि मग्ना पश्यन्तेन द्रौपदीत्याहुः

Here इष्टापत्ति is used only derivatively, as इष्टस्य आपत्तिः, अर्थात् संभवः and not at all in the sense of the weak point of the enemy in a wordy dispute, as for example in modern dialectics. Similarly the word madhyama used by Bhāsa in the masculine gender seems to correspond with the peculiar word in the feminine gender as explained in the Amara Kosā - स्यान्मध्यमा दुष्टरजाः. The Commentator here tries to connect it with the प्रथमरजोदर्शन or the first appearance of the menstrual flow, but the usage of Vālmiki and others seems to make the word refer to a woman in the full plenitude of sexual appeal 'Whom age cannot wither, nor custom stale her infinite Variety' as Shakespeare remarks in his immortal language (Antony and Cleopatra Act II Scene III lines 243 + 244). Evidently the word refers to a woman who has not reached the meno pause stage and Vālmiki and Bhāsa



use the word in exactly the very same sense. Valmiki uses the word only in connection with Kaikeyi, Sita, or Tārā and never with reference to Kausalyā or Sumitrā who were long long past the meno pause stage and who could ordinarily have never been able to be mothers except through the intervention of the supernatural pāyasa. As the proverb goes, ~~अस्मिन्~~ ~~अस्मिन्~~ ~~अस्मिन्~~, Kaikeyi, a ~~अस्मिन्~~ or a maiden of exquisite beauty, caused his death. But as time passed, this peculiar ^{sense} was forgotten and the word was wrongly understood as the 'middle one' and Kaikeyi was even promoted to the second place among the three wives, though in order of age and even marriage she was really the junior most. The word in the masculine gender seems to have been understood in the sense of a mighty person, able to destroy everything with his ~~super~~ human strength. 'bhujāyudha pradhāna' as Arimāra Ka II. 11 puts it. In the Pañcharātra II. 14 again, Balarama and Bhima are spoken of as swooping the entire army with their



have hands - द्वावेव दैभ्यो समरे प्रयातौ हतायुधः पैत्र

वृकोदरश्च. Most of the heroes of Bhāsa are of such superhuman strength and Ghatotkaca challenges Duryodhana in the following unforgettable word:

दृष्टोऽहो मुष्टिमुद्यम्य त्रिभुजेष्वद्योत्करः

उत्तिष्ठतु कुमान रुष्टिर्गुणमिश्रेद्यमात्मयम्.

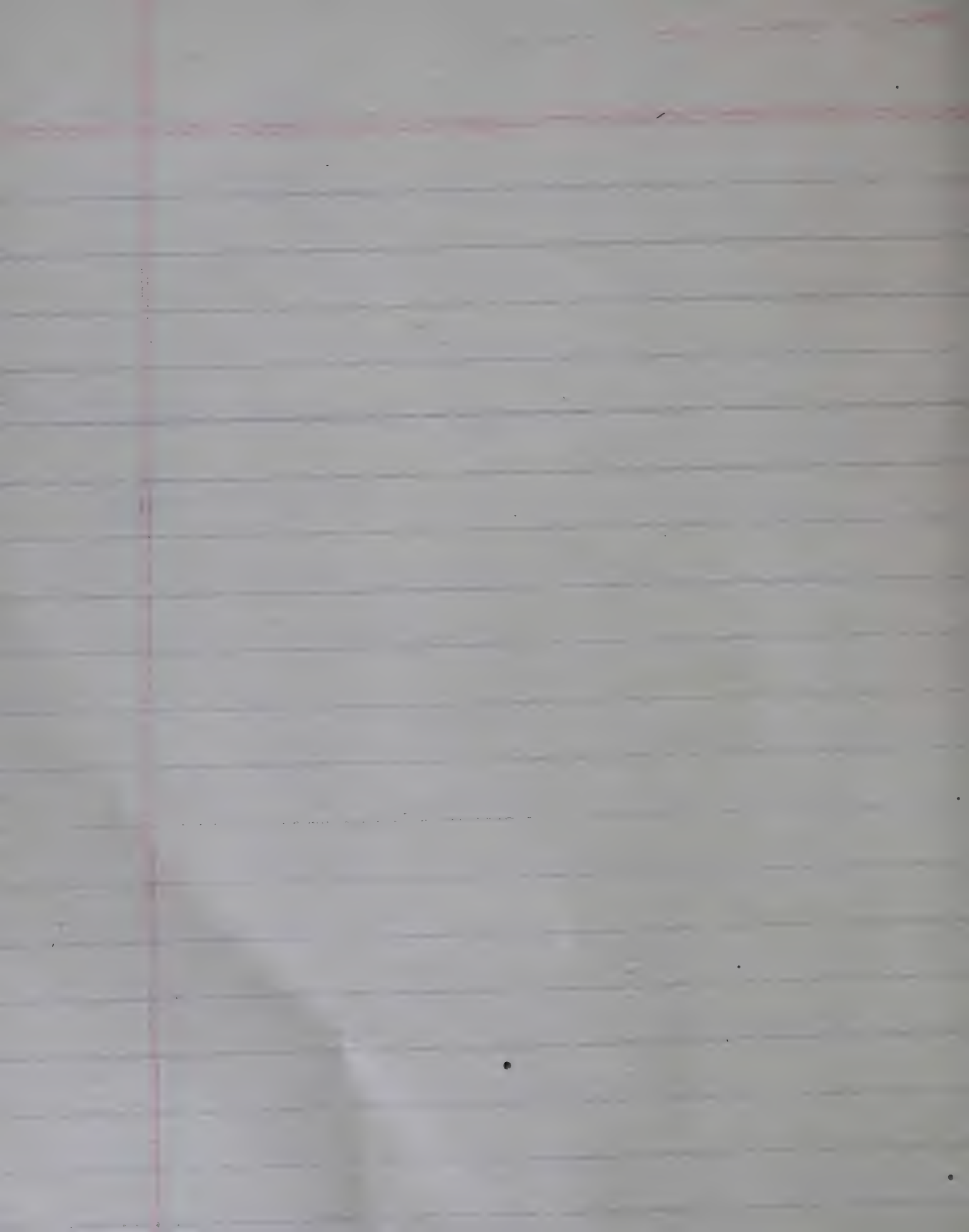
I. 50 Dūtāghatōtkaca.

The levelness of the strength cannot be brought out in a translation and I refrain from doing so.

'Āryaputra' is another peculiar word used in the ancient sense of 'master' or 'lord' as for example in the Asōkan Rock Edicts. The 'bhata' or the soldier refers to the sūdeva for example in the Bāla-caritā II. The fact that Bhāsa also uses it in the sense of 'husband' as in the later dramas does not disprove our point, but only shows that the later sense was just then coming into vogue.

The next word is the word देवालय. This word is explained in the Amarakosa as त्रिदशालय or स्वर्ग; but now it refers to a temple or a house

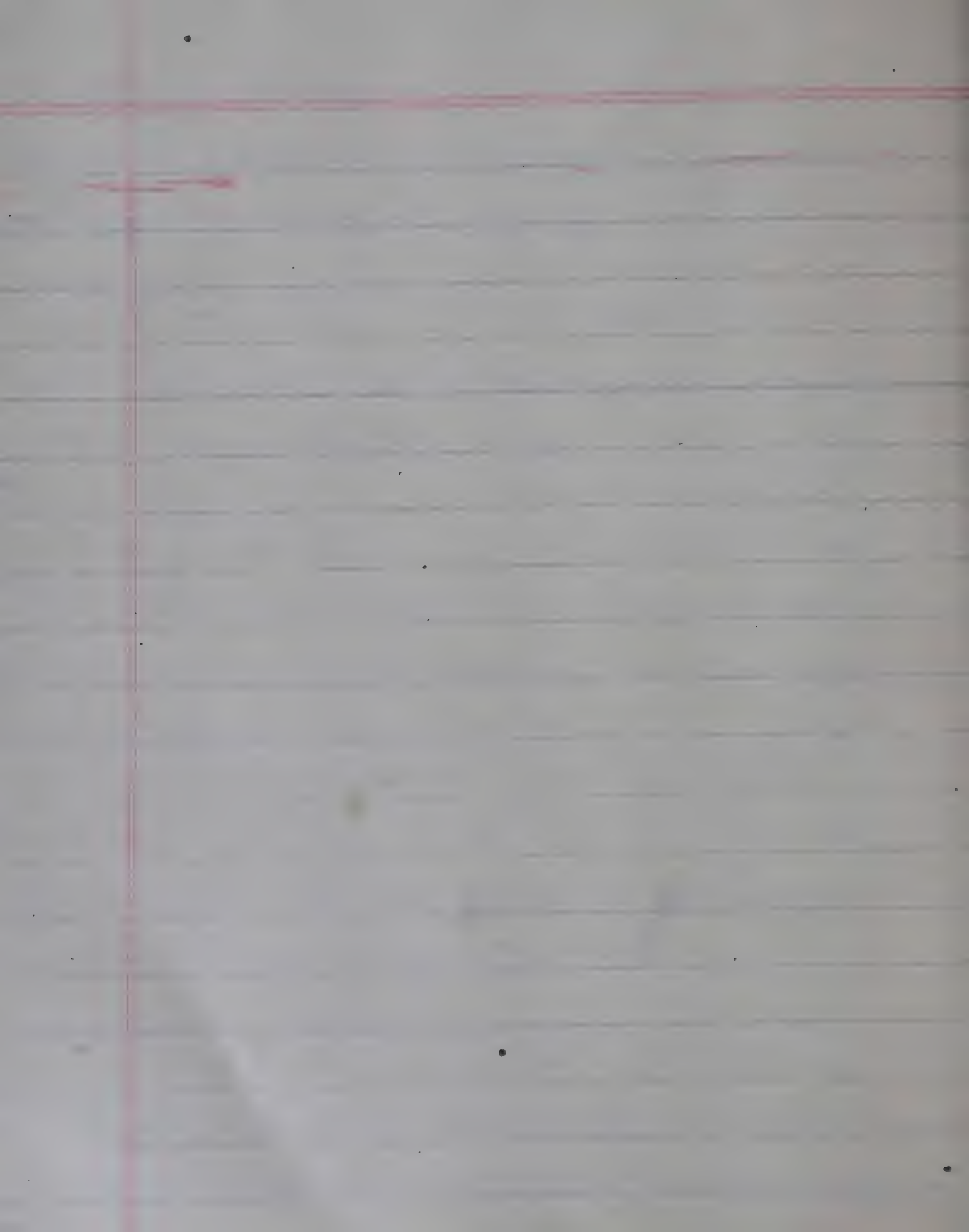
built for God on the earth. Śrī Sāṃkara conceived the human body as a temple of God on earth; Varāhamihira in the 38th chapter of his Br̥hat jātaka refers to the installation of divine images in temples. Evidently by their time the word had already descended to the earth. But Bhāsa uses it only in the sense of heaven in Pañcarātra I '4 - (ॐ लोकमुदारोह सकलं देवतं नृदेवः). The very name of his drama Pratinā makes us realise that it is not to be understood in the sense of temple images as for example in Varāhamihira. Similarly the word pratimāgr̥ha, nor even the word agr̥ha in connection with devakula as found in the Pratipñāyagandharāyana III can easily make us realise that temples in the modern sense had not at all come into being. The name 'Pañcarātra' given for the drama, again, clearly testifies to the fact that it has nothing to do with the Pāñcarātrāyana governing installation of temple images and must have been written long before it came into vogue in about 450 A.D.



Exactly similarly, if we scan the language used by Bhāsa in these dramas, the idioms clearly exhibit a living phase of the language. Soon after Patanjali, who systematised the grammar, the language ceased to grow and the ordinary man in the street could not speak it and pollute it; so in the later Kāvyaś of Bhāsa and Viśākhadatta, for example, the idiom has already become artificial and stagnant while in Bhāsa who was actually Patanjali's contemporary, the living idiom can be easily recognised. To take but an example, the use of the Conjunctions च and ए deserves to be noted; a few are here noted and commented upon at random.

1) ये दुर्बलाश्च कृपणाश्च निराश्रयाश्च वित्तश्च शर्म मृगयन्ति - Panca I. 37. here the context is - Drona requests half the kingdom on behalf of the Pāndavas and seems to emphasise their humble lot as though to rouse Duryodhana's sympathy by as many as four च's.

2) एतच्छ्रेयसावशेषमित्रं ते वरुणं - Abhiseka III. Ravana and Vishvasana are talking just before the latter's desertion and the former here retorts 'your ए suggests something of the back of

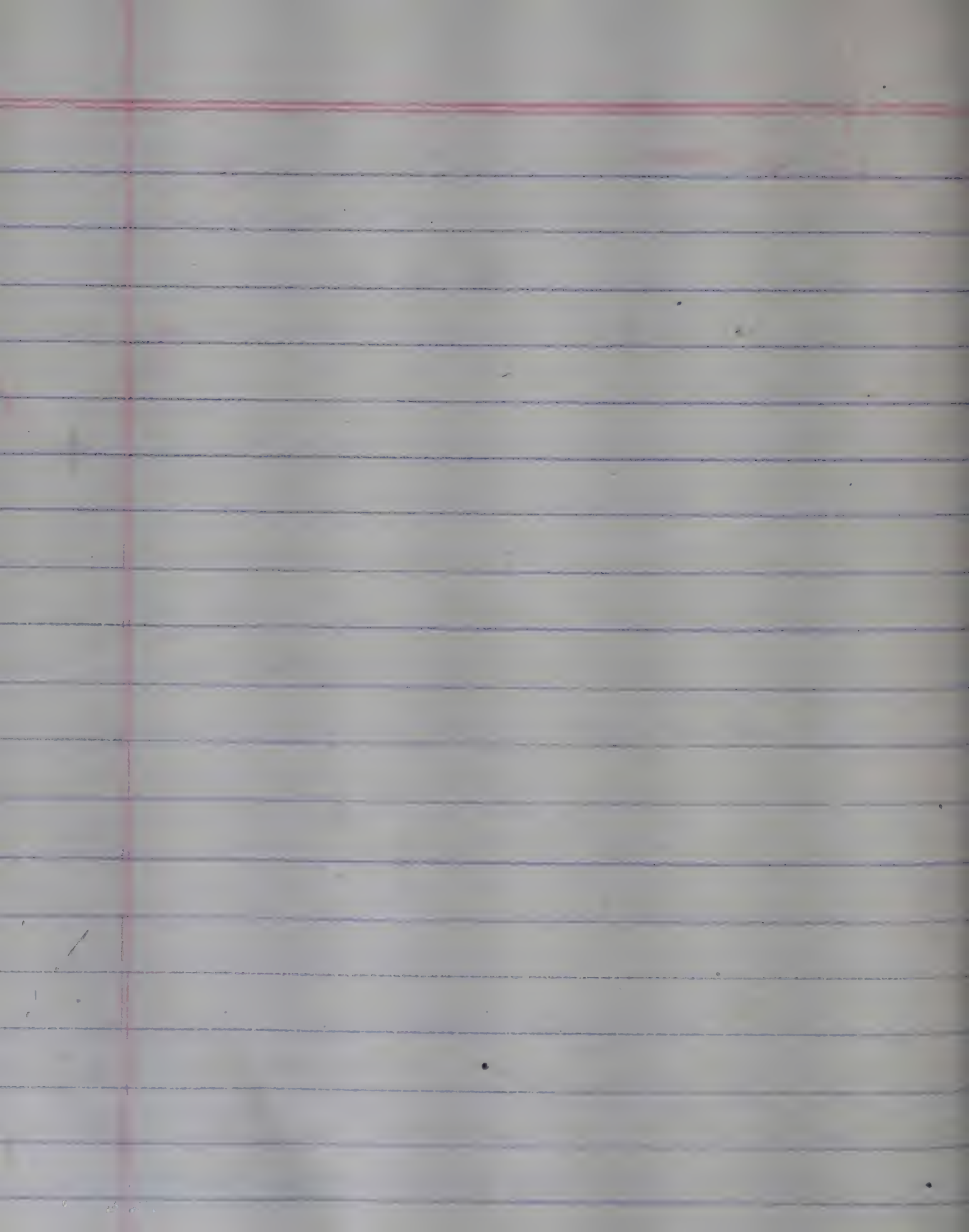


your mind, out with it!

3) काशब्देन अवगतमयदसीति - Pratimā V. This is exactly similar. In the conversation between Rāvana (disguised as a Vedic priest) and Rāma, the latter detects something held over in Rāvana's mind because of the last word अ) and asks him to explain it.

Almost exactly similarly, some of Kālidāsa's ~~types~~ of अ) indicate sameness of time for both the actions in the two clauses. Raghuvamśa 8.6 tells us that the gods reached the ocean and Viṣṇu opened his eyes exactly at the same time. ते च प्रापुरुदन्वन्तं ब्रुबुधे यदि पुरुषः. The Kumārasambhava III 12 - त्वं सर्वलोकामि च साधकं च makes Indra praise Kāma with all emphasis by the use of the two च's. But centuries later, for example, in Bhartṛhari's time (750 A.D.) this very अ) though repeated after each word joined does not show any purpose at all - दिक् तं च तं च मदने च दूमां च मां च.

The use of किल deserves notice also. It has not as yet become an expletive or पादपूरण like च, वी, तु or हि. In the प्रतिमा I. 23 for example, यत्कृते महति कृडो राज्ये मे न मनोरथः। वर्षाणि किल वस्तव्यं चतुर्दश वरे त्वया॥, the idea is



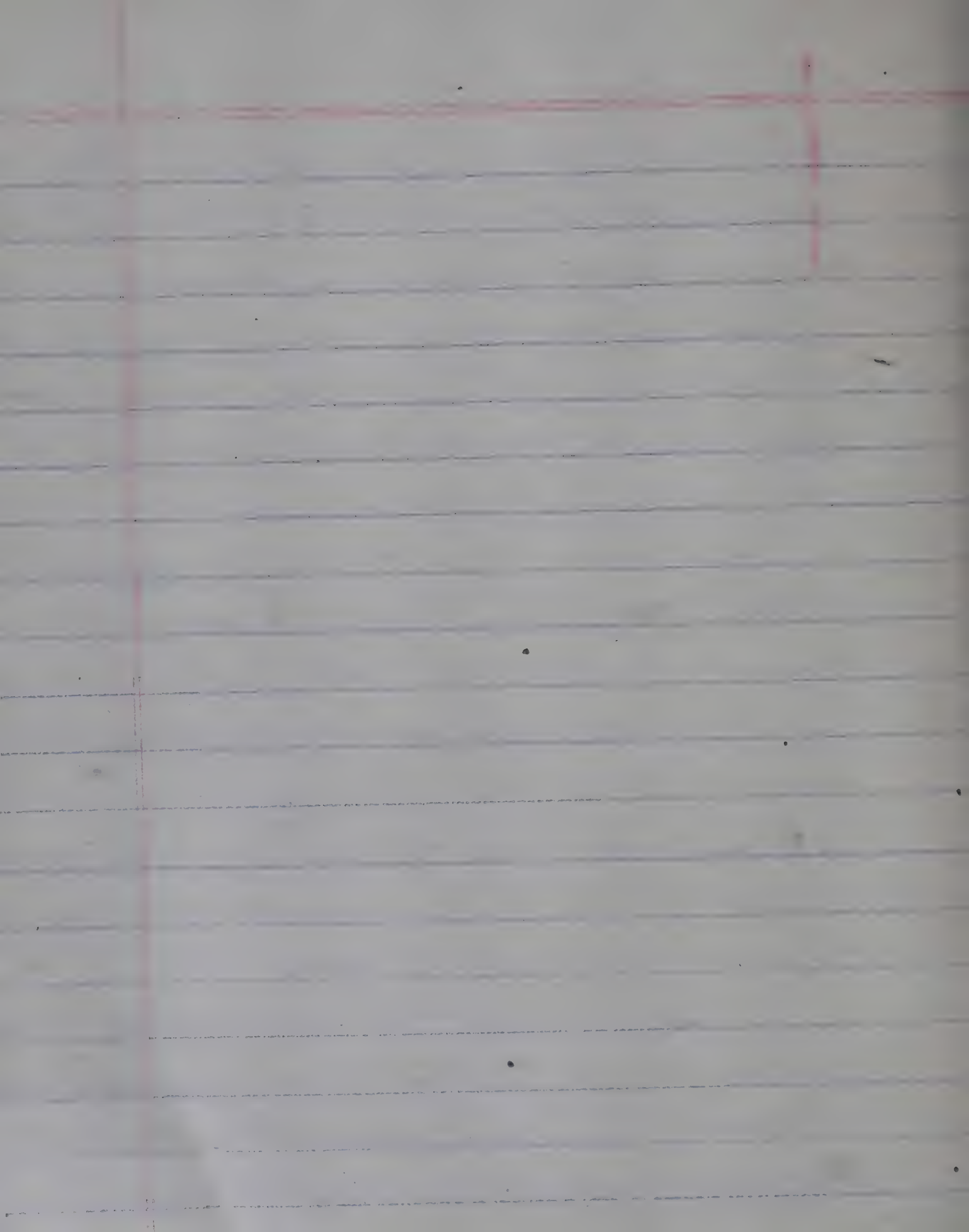
I am not bothered about the loss of the Kingdom, but about living in the forest for ^{as many as} fourteen years. Similarly another ancient idiom of the Prākṛit language, using the past passive participle itself as a rootnoun in an abstract sense, is noticed here and there: शक्तिम् has राज्यविभ्रष्टकृतसन्तोषेन (in the Viṅkambhaka at the beginning) in the sense राज्यविभ्रष्टः. His dramas have not used the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit according to the testimony of Prākṛit specialists. By Saṅdini's time even in the 6th cen A.D., we know, this Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit had already become the Prākṛitām or the best among the daughters of Sanskrit. So it goes without saying that Bhāsa should have been long prior to him. Dr. Sukthankar's remarks about Bhāsa's Prākṛit: 'The Prākṛit of these dramas revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of middle Indian dialects older than that preserved in the classical drama. It also betrays affinities with the Prākṛit of the fragments of Aśvaghosa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics'. Analekta.

Let us now collect a few idioms of Bhāṣa such as are not at all found in the later poets like Bhāṣa or Māgha. 1) अपरिचयात् न श्लिष्यते मे मनसि (Śvapna I): This (treatment), not being familiar to me, does not attract my mind. 2) अक्षीणं मां कुरु (प्रतिज्ञा IV) make me strong by complying with my request. 3) अहं तव प्रभावी ननु? (Pancha I) = Have I power over you? 4) न कश्चिद्यत्नवानमात्मः? (Śvapna I) Did not any minister try (to console him)?

If we consider one or two usages not sanctioned by Pāṇini, we will have to grant that he must have lived at a time when these rules had not as yet acquired their universal application, in other words before Patañjali decreed that they must be obeyed:

1) Pancha I - यदि दातव्ये किमस्मान्निः सह मंत्रयसे. Here the juxtaposition of the locative Absolute with यदि is ungrammatical and never met with elsewhere.

2) Bāla IV. मा खलु मा खलु माहसं कृत्वा प्रवेष्टुं - Here मा clubbed with an infinitive is also ungrammatical and not found elsewhere; अहं इदानीं त्रणे प्रहर्तुं - प्रतिमा IV is also very unusual in clubbing मा with infinitive; more



irregular is प्राप्तेमा III. 5 मातृणां अभिवादनक्रममुपदेष्टुं
 इच्छामि or मम हस्ते निक्षिप्तं राज्यं ननुर्दशवर्षान्तं प्रतिगृहीतुं
 इच्छामि which are ~~against~~ ^{against} Pāṇini II. 323. 14 are
 उपदिश्यमानं and प्रतिगृह्यमाणं must be explained as being
 advised or accepted by the speaker or the receiver. Such
 usages are rare and the prose sentence after Śākuntala
 II. 15, आज्ञापयितुमिच्छामि is to be interpreted as आज्ञाप्यः
 भवितुमिच्छामि.

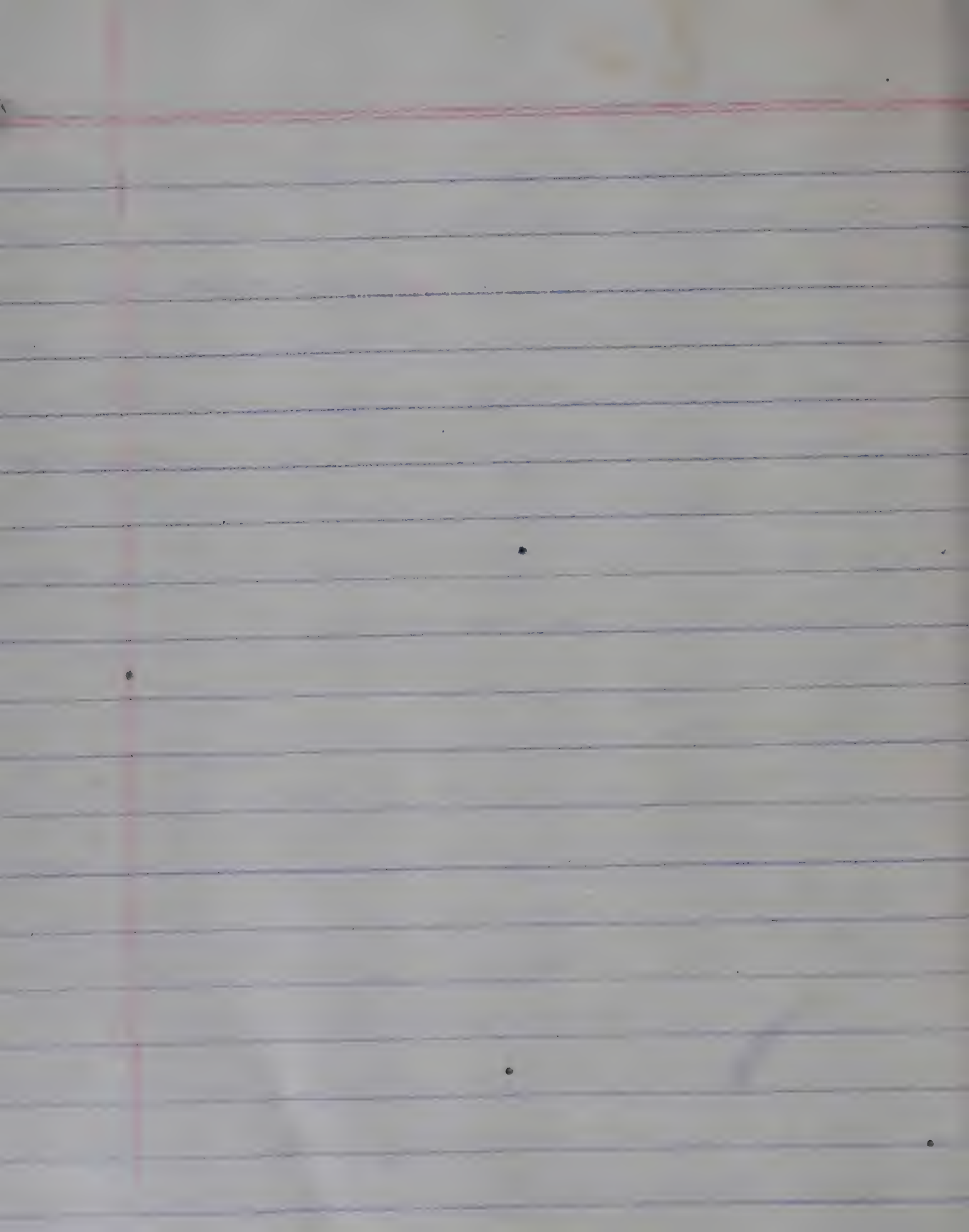
Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, in a lovely allegory, describes 4
 काव्ययुगः - कृतं युगे व्यञ्जनवाक्यतीर्णं त्रेतायुगे सैव गुणीवभूवत्
 and echoing him, we may say that Bhāsa flourished in
 the कृतयुग or the suggestive period of our literature along
 with our best poets like Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa.
 Bhāsa's प्राप्ति or poetic genius is of a high order, there is
 no artificiality anywhere in respect of ideas, no conventionalism;
 no deterioration in tastes or standards; particularly
 the number of stanzas he employs is perhaps the least possible,
 later poets like Bhavabhūti or Jayadeva introduced stanzas
 as though to make up for their want of poetic talent. May
 be, an act like the III in the Pratiṣṭhā has no stanzas at all.

Most probably, this Bhāsa might have been the Court poet of Pusyamitra Śunga and might have also seen the budding poet Kālidāsa who flourished in the son's Court soon after. Just as Marlowe's fame was eclipsed in English literature by Shakespeare who came too soon after him, possibly Bhāsa was outshone by the fame of Kālidāsa even to the extent of making posterity forget his name altogether. Sarojini Naidu's being almost forgotten in the context of Tagore's fame might be also noted as a parallel.

His 13 dramas might be listed into 3 groups as hereunder:

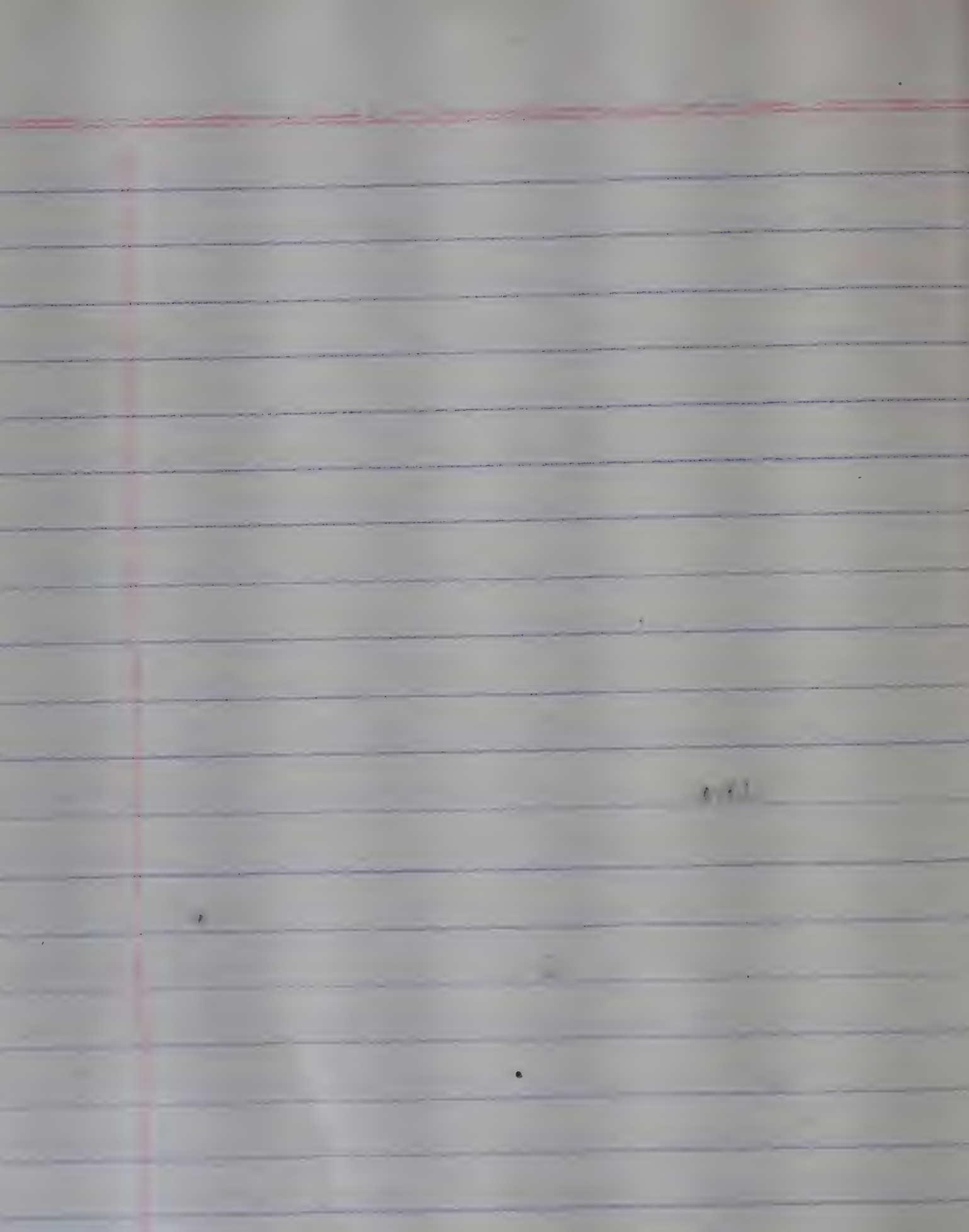
| Rāma Drama | based upon Bhārata and Bhāgavataśhāsa | based upon Brhat-Kathā. |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Pratimā - 7 acts | Dūtā Vākya | Avimāśka - 6 acts |
| Abhiseka - 6 acts | Dūtā śhatōtkāśā | Pratijñā yauṅgandhā |
| (Pisharod) regards Viśvakambhaka in the beginning of VI act as a separate 3rd & the VI as VII act. | Madhyaṃyāyoga | vāyana - 4 acts |
| Yājñaphala - 7 acts. | Karna Bhāra | Svapna Vāsavadatta |
| | Urubhanga | 6 acts |
| | Pandurāroha - 3 acts | Cārudatta - 4 Acts. |
| | Bālakaṛita - 5 acts. | |

The last in the first column of the Rāma Drama, yājñaphala has been recently published in Kathiawar (1947). It has been published as Bhāsa's, but Sāhitya Akademi



Shri Shiyali Sundarachari and Dr. Kunhan Raja (now Professor of Sanskrit Andhra University) have refuted this stand in the Hindu Supplement while reviewing this book and we agree with them.

Chronology of the dramas: In what order did Bhāsa write them? Our supposition is as follows - Bālakaṇṭha (suggested to his patron to kill Brhadraṭha perhaps), Arimāraka, Abhi-
seka (to commemorate the accession) Madhyamakhyāyoga,
Dūta Vākya, Dūta śhatōtkacha, Karṇabhāra, Ūrubhanga
(in their natural sequence in the epic original), Pancarātra,
Cārudatta, Pratimā, Pratijñāyanga and harāyana, and
Śvapnavāśavadatta. We take this Śvapna drama last
as it ~~came~~ came out unscathed out of the "fire test" as
reported by Rājas'ekhara. Both Dr Pusalker and
justice A.S.P. Ayyar regard the Cārudatta as the last
since according to them it is incomplete probably
cut off abruptly by his death. But we do not agree
with this assumption. Similarly they start with the
Dūta Vākya, but the one-act dramas exhibit such
masterly skill that forces us to assume that they were only

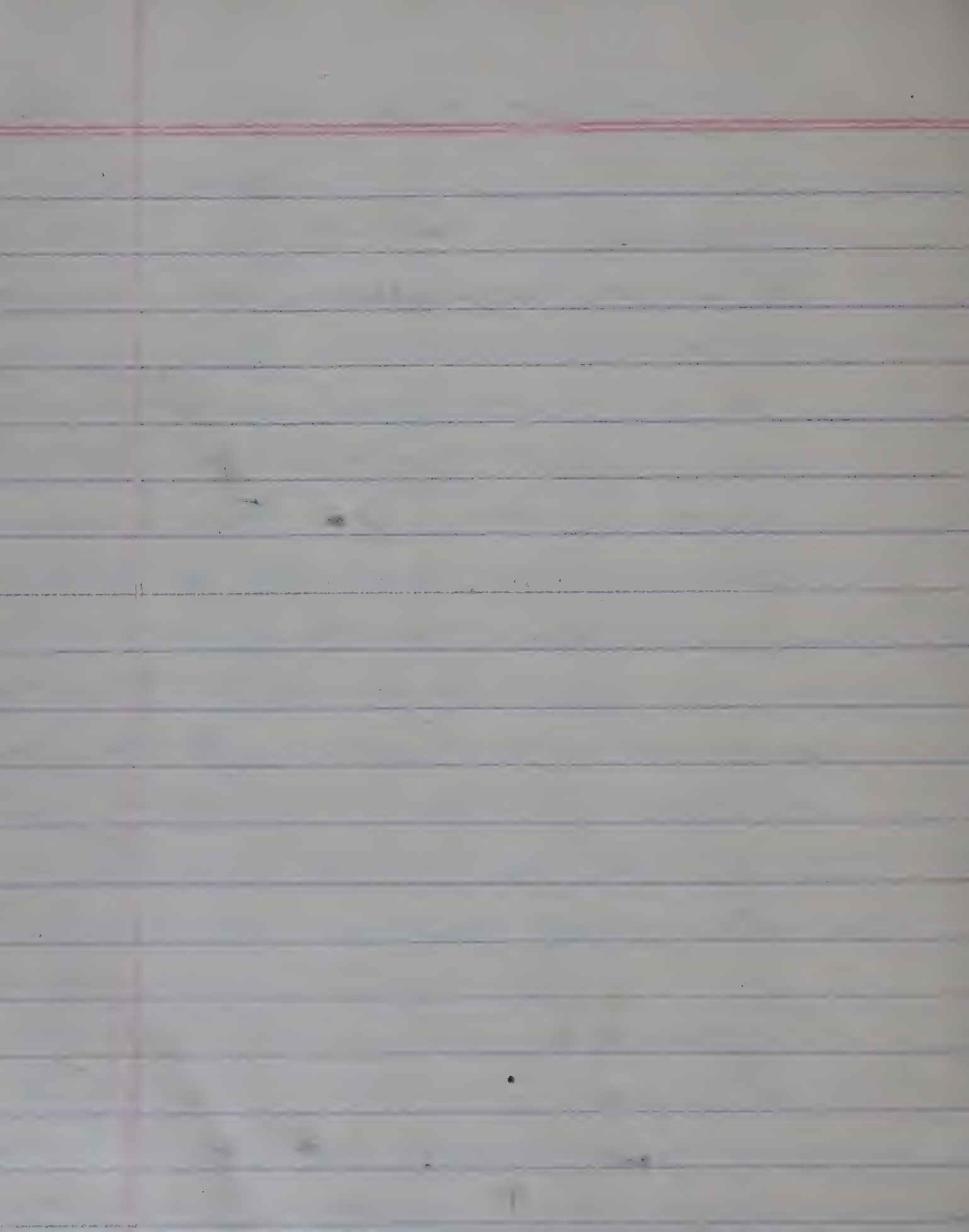


attempted after some other dramas had been written.

— X —

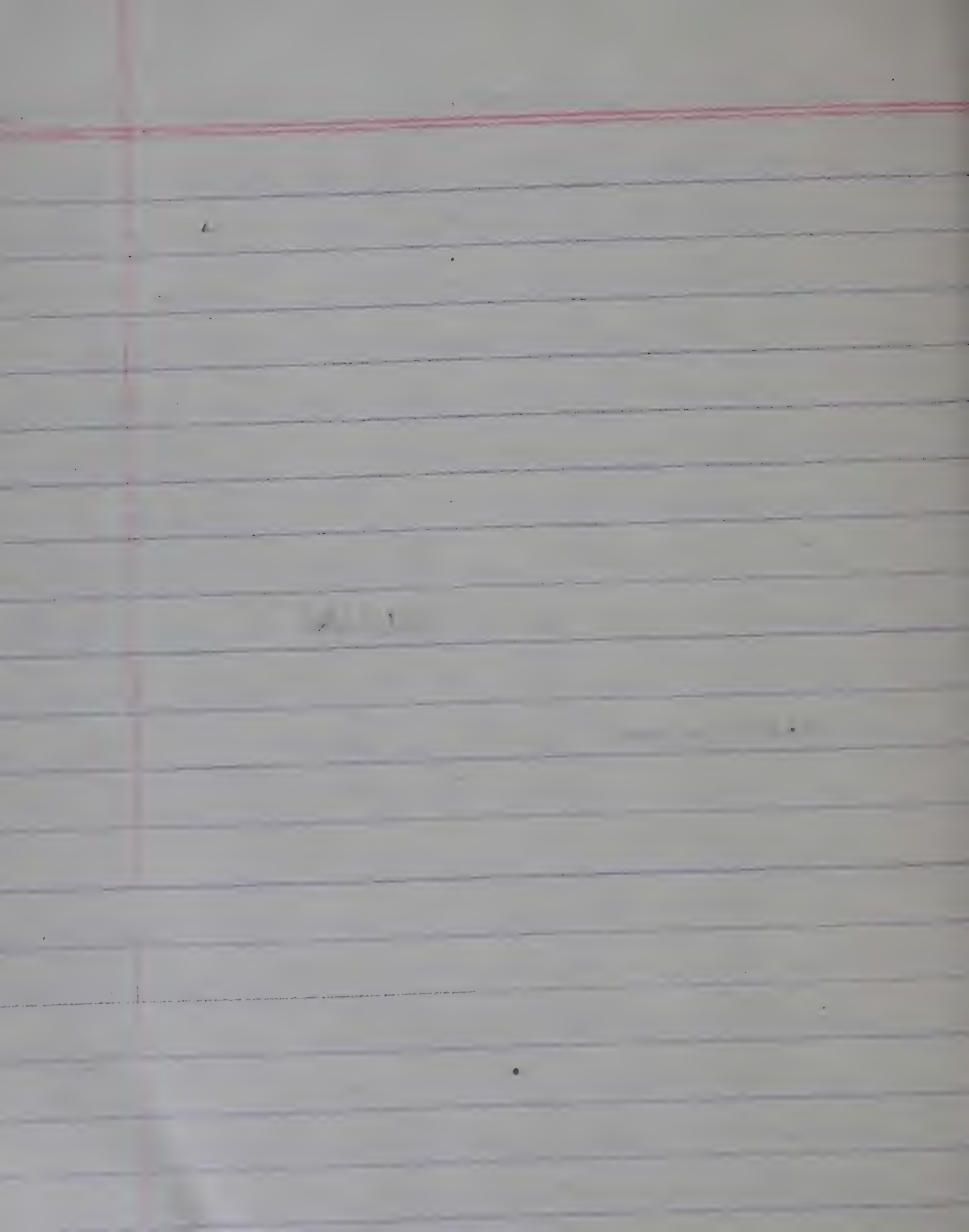
III Chapter - ^{Vyāsa,} Vālmiki and Bhāsa.

It has been almost established after so many years of devoted research that the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and The Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas must have reached their present final state after at least three intermediate stages of development. In other words, other mighty epic poets must have preceded Vālmiki and Vyāsa and must have written their epics which were later on wiped out by the monumental works that came after them. Probably ancient poets like Bhāsa and Aśvaghosa might have actually seen such 'precursors' ^{of the} epics and the latter actually refers to one such, Īyavana by name in his Buddhacarita I.43 as having preceded Vālmiki. The Matsya Purāṇa 53rd Adhyāya 71-72 refer to Brahma and Narada as having actually produced Rāmopākhyānas; the ^{first} was according to that very authority, 100 crores of verses in extent; this was



abridged by Nārada first and later Vālmiki, out of compassion for the short span of life of us humans, abridged into the modern epic so that it might lead us to attain an Puruṣārtha - Dharma, Artha, Kāma and mokṣa. This very fact has been suggestively hinted at by Vālmiki when he mentions that both of them visited him in his abode to give him the needed impulse to write the epic. In the succeeding chapters, an attempt is made to show that Bhāsa might have flourished soon after Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Bharata (of Nāṭyaśāstra), Kautilya, ~~Vātsyāyana~~, Gautama, Apastamba, Vātsyāyana and Manu on the strength of his style and ancient words.

Bhāsa has taken the name of the drama Pinchā-rātra from the Argya Kāṇḍa 62nd adhyāya 17 (Kumbhak-īdy). We cannot but remember Viśvāmitra's Daśarātra yajña in this connection. In the Sākuntalā III when in King's absence, the sages request Duryanta to protect their sacrifices for a few nights, we see this tradition of nightly



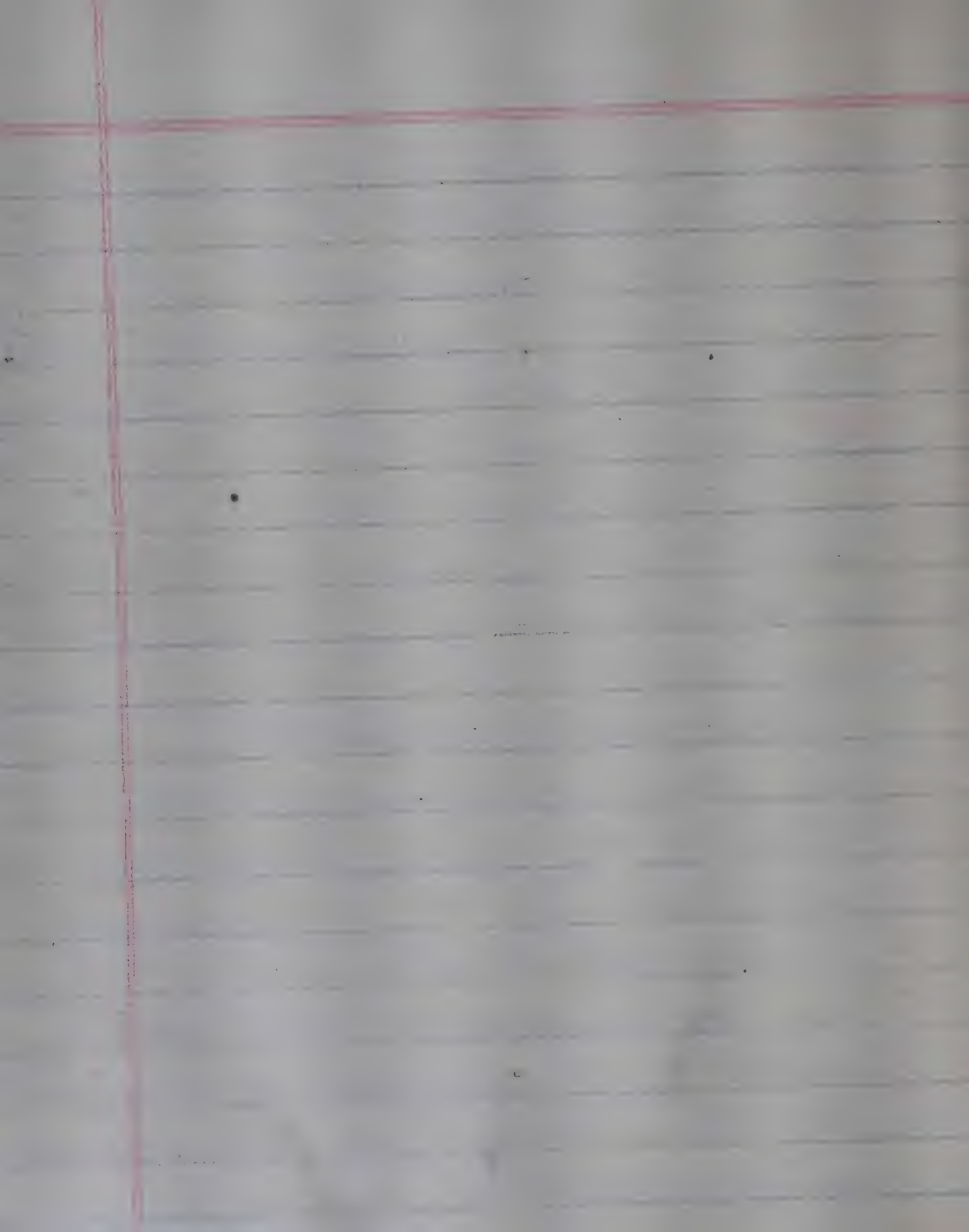
sacrifices persisting. Similarly in another drama of the series, in the Madhyama Vyāyoga, another yajna, the Sātakumbha is referred to. The practicing of such yajnas has been long forgotten, but we can perceive that all were eagerly performing the Vedic rituals. The youngsters would duly prostrate before the elders; after touching an unclean corpse, or after sneezing or weeping, every one would do the holy sipping of the water or ācamana. Similarly, if Manu's rule for greeting ब्राह्मणं कुशलं पृच्छेत् क्षत्रत्रयमुपनामयं । वैश्यं क्षेमं समा-
गम्य ब्रूते मोरोगमेत्र च ॥ is followed strictly by Kālidāsa, Vālmiki, who must have flourished long long before Manu, knows nothing of the rule and jumbles them up together. In Bāla Kāṇḍa II.25, Vālmiki greets Brahma with an अनामयप्रश्न as if he were a Kṣātrīya. Later in the context where Viśvāmitra and Daśaratha greet each other, they both inquire about the other's Kuśala. Bhāsa also does not restrict the Kuśala greeting for Brahmins and the anāmayaprasna for Kṣātrīyas. In the Dūtākāvya Durgudhara greets the Kṣātrīyas with an अनामयप्रश्न

but with a कुरालपत्र - सर्वे समुद्राः कुरालेपयन्ताः and
in response Sri Krishna enquires about both कुराले and
अनामयः. (कुराले अनामयं न दृष्टुं)

There is a Rāmopākhyāna parva in the Bhārata
epic comprising chapters 274 to 293 in the Vanaparva
(Kumbhak edn). There seems to be a small difference
between Vālmiki and this. We do not propose to enter
into the question of their relative priority to each other,
but we wish to state that Bhāsa's story in his two dramas,
the Pratimā and the Abhiseka seems to follow Vyāsa's
summary rather than Vālmiki's. We shall illustrate
this only by one example. After Kṛṣṇa's death, Bhāsa's
Ravana rushes out (in his Abhiseka) to cut off Sita's head
when a servant intervenes saying अग्रं स्त्रीवधो
न कर्तव्यः (p. 660 Devanagarī); after this only he starts for
the famous रामराक्षणयुद्ध. In āthya 290, 26th verse
reads as follows: - रावणः द्रोणमोहार्तं वैदेहीं हनुमुपतः।
इव द्रुमादाय दृष्टात्मा जवेनां निपपात ह ॥ तं दृष्ट्वा तस्य दुर्बुद्धेः
अविन्द्यः पापनिश्चयः। शमयामास संकुलं नालिनीं हनं
उद्गृहीतः। The context and the words are exactly the

same as anybody can see for himself. Such resemblances can be easily detected by the readers. This apart, all the Rāma stories current now, Aṣṭyājñeya Rāmāyana, the Rāmakathā in Padma Purāṇa, Tamil Kamban, Kannada Torave, Jain's Pampa Rāmāyana, Hindi Rāmacaritamānasa, and Telugu Bhāskara Rāmāyana, all agree in making Kaikeyi beg Daśaratha for two boons in sending Rāma to the forest. Alone among the Rāma story writers, Bhāsa refers to Daśaratha's gifting the kingdom to Kaikeyi at the time of her marriage and makes Bharata the rightful owner of the kingdom. Perhaps we might infer from this that in Bhāsa's time there were others who narrated the story differently, but these were evidently overshadowed by Vālmiki's towering personality.

Some of Bhāsa's peculiar words follow Vālmiki's usage. One of such words is रक्षितं used to refer to रक्षितं वस्तु or something deserving to be protected; later of course, it became restricted only to wife. The newer gender of the word also becomes explicable now.



In Kiskindhā kāṇḍa 45th Sarga Verse 23, we read -

भवान् कलत्रमस्माकं स्वामिभवे ज्वलयेतः । इवामी कलत्रं सैन्यस्य
गतिरेषा परत्तप ॥ तस्मात्कलत्रवत्तात परिपाल्यः सदा भवान् ॥ and

also in Sundara Kāṇḍa 37th Sarga 46th Shloka we read

कलत्रवति लब्धेहः त्वयपि सादृश्यायः कलत्रं is obviously used

as something to be protected. In Bhāsa's Ratipā I. 4-

सर्वे हि सैन्यं अनुशासन्ते कलत्रं and also in Anurāga

I act after the princess' rescue, the King asks the minister -

किं तस्य कलत्रं अस्ति? and the minister's reply is this - सर्वमस्ति

स्वयमनिर्विष्टः - This might be thus translated - 'What has he

a family to protect?' and the minister replies - 'he has, but

he has not taken a wife himself (to protect her). This

latter usage seems to suggest how the restriction of the

meaning came about. We list together in parallel columns

such verbal or sense correspondences:

Vālmiki (Kumbhak can)

Bhāsa (Anurāga)

अनुशासन्ते पश्यामि स्मृतिर्मम किं
यते । अयोध्या-65-65.

अहं, मे स्पृशन्ते न कं पश्यामि अनुशासन्ते । रामं
प्रति गता बुद्धिरपि न विवर्तते । प्रातिमा ॥ १५

अनुशासन्ते पश्यामि स्मृतिर्मम किं
यते । अयोध्या-65-65.

रामरुद्रयोर्मध्ये निवृत्तव्रतमेव हि
प्रतिमा ॥ १५

वाहि वात यतः कान्ता तां स्पृष्टुमापि स्पृष्टा धन्याः खलु वने वाताः तस्य परिवर्तिनः
मुद्रकाः - V. 6. विवरंतं वने रामं मे स्पृशन्ति यथासुखं

प्रतिमा II. 12.

दैवं पुरुषकारेण यः समर्थः प्रवर्धितुं
न दैवेन विपन्नार्थः पुरुषः सो वसीदति
अयोध्या 24/37.

दैवं पुरुषकारेण वञ्चयिष्याम्यहं ध्रुवं
Bhāṣa II. 14.

सहजराहितेव चक्रवाकी जनकसुता
कृपणां दृशं प्रपन्ना - सुन्दरः 30.

नैवेदानीं तादृशश्चक्रवाकः - Shapana II.

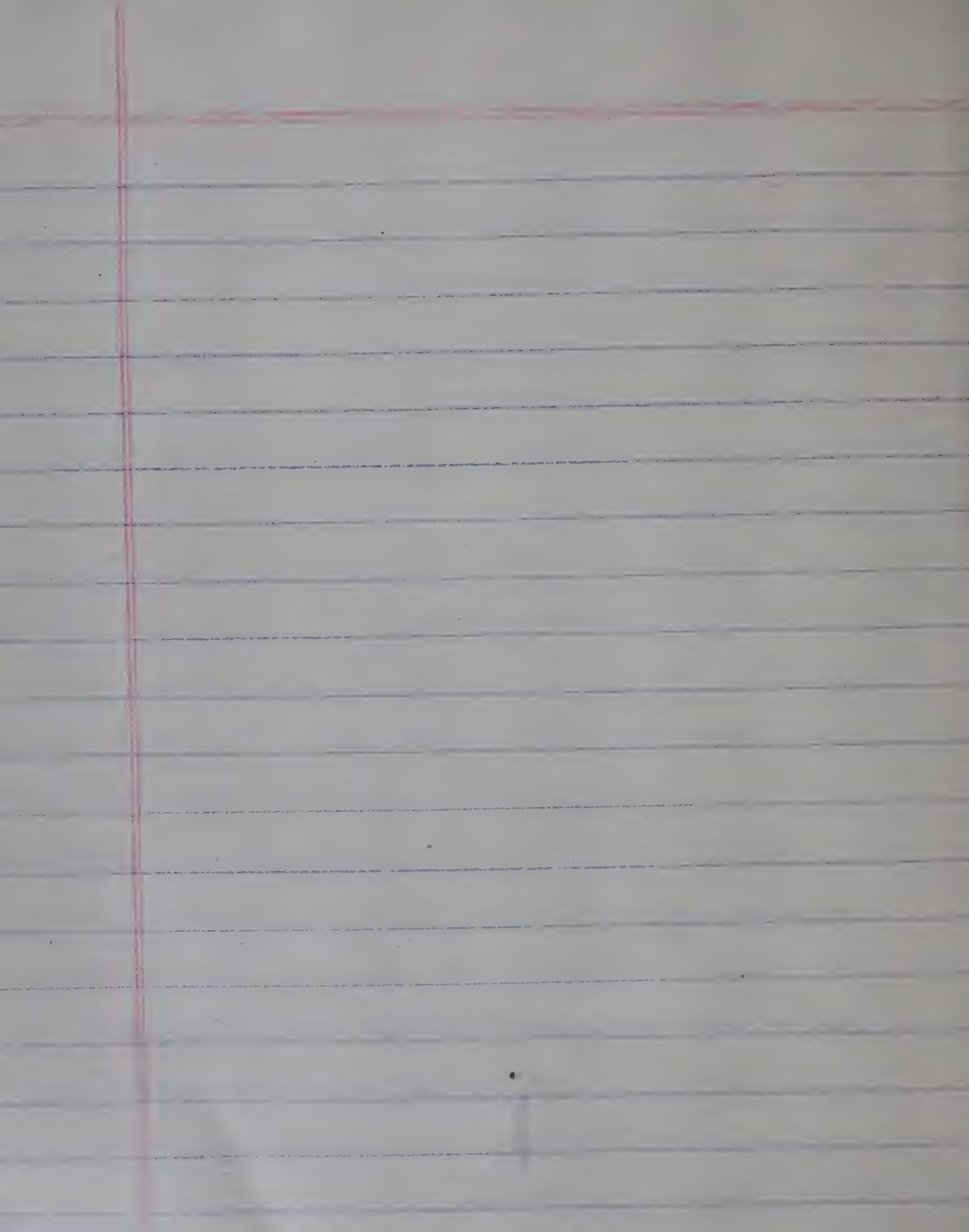
भर्तृनाथाः शरान्ति याः - अयोध्या 117-24.

भर्तृनाथा हिनार्थः - प्रतिमा II. 25.

अयोध्यामटकीं विद्धि - "

अस्माभिश्च परित्यक्तं पुरं संपद्यतां वने. नायोध्यातं विनायोध्या सायोध्या
अयोध्यापि भवेत्तस्या रामहीना यथाकलं यत्र राघवः - प्रतिमा III. 24.

If Visvāmitra calls Rāma affectionately कौसल्यासुप्रजाः, the dramatist following him closely makes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa addressed as कौसल्यामातः and सुमित्रामातः. Sloka bits like अग्निरेमेव कालेन, शक्तिः कालान्तकोपमा, कम्पयन्निव which are quite common for Purāṇic writers are found here also as Dr Sukthankar has already noted. He has also noted 'unimportant' prose is mixed up with fancy metres mostly lyrical, and these are rudimentary attempts at dramatisation, not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.



b) Veda Vyāsa: Khoh Copper plate inscription (533 A.D.) has already called the Mahābhārata 'Sātasāhasrī Samhitā'. Without the episodes, it had only 24,000 slokas. If we exclude the Itarivamsā ^(16,374 verses), Hopkins calculated 84,126 slokas in the northern Recension. The Kumbakonam edition contains 96,578 slokas. To make up the lakh, 16000 slokas for the northern, and 3,500 slokas for the southern recensions are required. Evidently with the lapse of time, some slokas must have been omitted due to various reasons. Perhaps in Bhāsa's time, most of these episodes might not have been lost, and definitely a few more episodes should have existed.

One such episode seems to be the Madhyama-Vyāyoga episode where Ugratara ~~Kacha~~ is depicted as a killer of Brahmins. A brahmin family, father, mother and 3 children, is proceeding to the next village for a sacred thread ceremony; the giant boy waylays them and demands that one of the brothers should be offered up to his mother for her breakfast. The epic Dronaparva adhyāyas 182, slokas 25 to 27 (Kumbakonam) are as

follow: यदि त्रेजं नाहनिष्यत्कर्णः शक्रमहामृधे
 मया वधोऽभविष्यत्स औषसे निर्घटोत्तमः ।
 मया न निहतः पूर्वं एष युष्माद्विषे मया ।
 धर्मस्य लोप्ता पापात्मा यज्ञद्वेषी च राक्षसः ॥
 एष हि ब्राह्मणद्वेषी तस्मादेष निपतितः

When we read this, we realise that Ghatotkacha should have treated the Brahmins malevolently perhaps in many more ways; and these might have been now omitted. Further in the same drama, when we read that Bhīma declares he knows a māyāpākā mantra received by him as a result of Śiva's grace, we have to guess that just as Arjuna received the Pāśupata missile through Śiva's grace, Bhīma also might have propitiated the same god and been granted this wonderful art of release from all sorts of magic bonds. Evidently when the epic was recast to make Arjuna alone supreme, this penance of Bhīma seems to have dropped out.

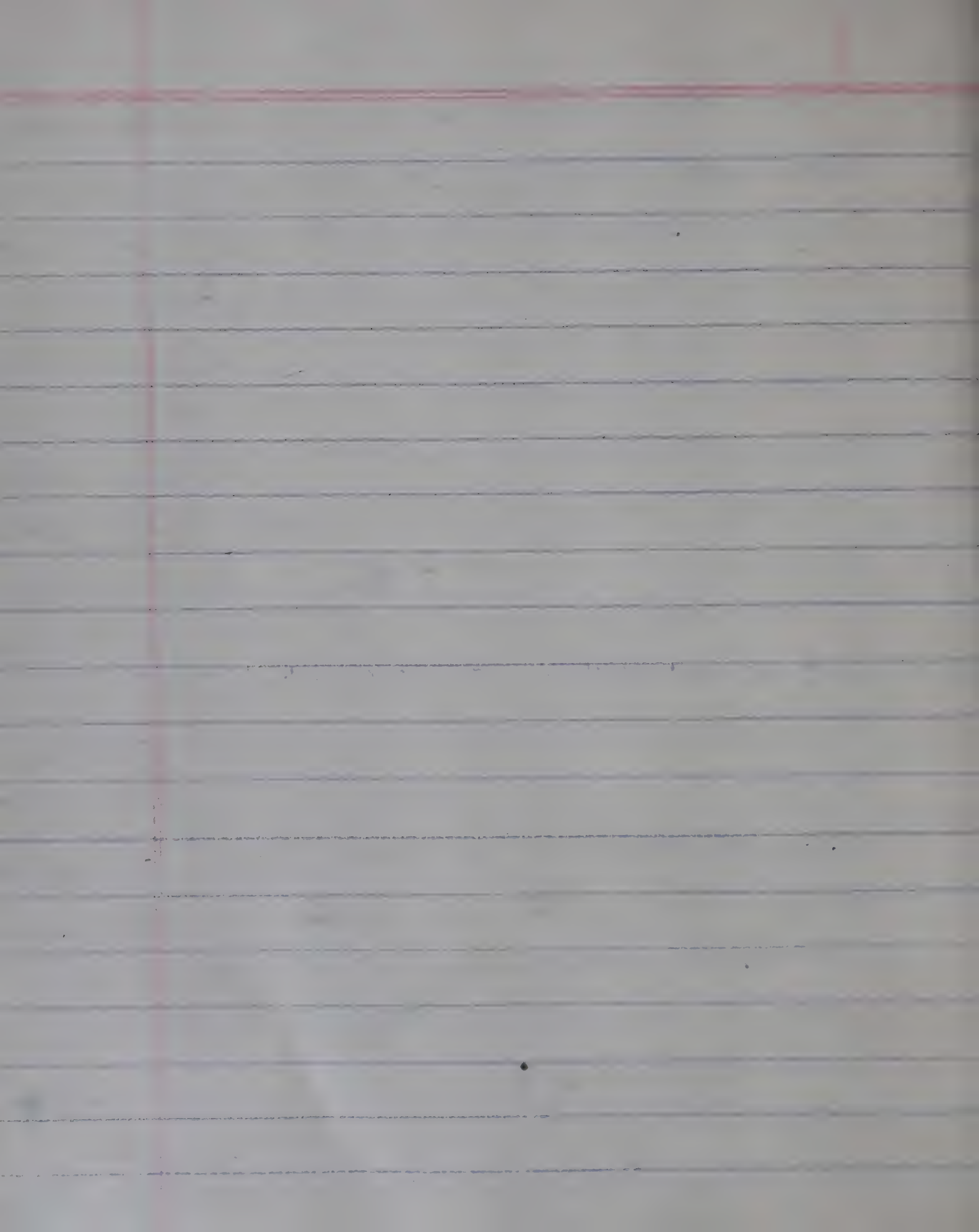
Similarly, Pañcārātra III. 12 refers to a test in which Bhīma's skill in archery was tested by Drona. The epic stops with a test for Arjuna's skill only. The

Shloka itself is: कर्णयते तेन शरे विमुक्ते विक्रमिंतं तस्य शिरो मयोक्तं

गता तदा तेन वाणतुल्यं अप्राप्तलक्षः स शरो गृहीतः

Evidently, in this test for Bhima's skill, the Guru nodded rather disapprovingly, after the arrow was discharged; touched to the quick, Bhima walked, with a speed equal or even faster than the arrow itself, he reached the arrow before it reached the target and took it away. When Ranna, the famous Jaina poet in his Gadāyuddha (in Kannada) ^{about 10th cen. A.D.} VI.28 records - guru lakṣyaśi ddhiyillene parivambam paridu pididu began tarfama | tire parana javade parana ja paridam mandiradeyale iyidirum baleyum', he also adds the reason for this, saying it was but natural for Bhīma to do so as he was the son of the wind god. Sri Maṭhura, the famous Dvaita Ācārya of the 12th cen in his Mahābhārata Tātparyā nirṇaya quotes many sentences or Shlokas from Vedavyāsa which are not found in the epic as it exists today. This clearly shows that even after the 12th century so many sentences are lost; if Bhāsa existed about 1200 years prior to Maṭhura, it is obvious many more Shlokas and episodes even might have been there then.

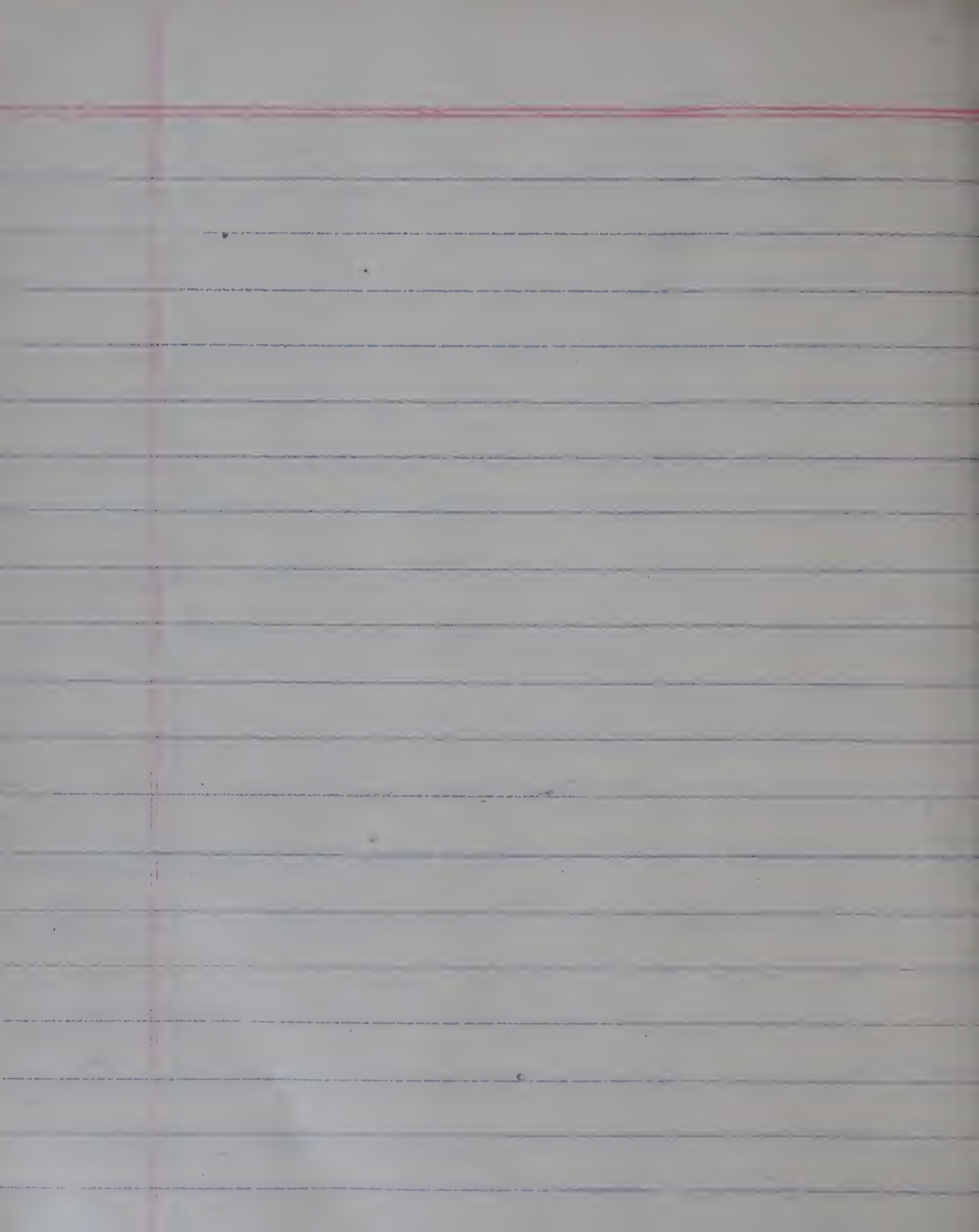
The Bhāgavata Purana as we have it now is definitely later than the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. It is obvious that parts of it must have been recast at a later date. We cannot assert whether the earlier Bhāgavata or the later Bhāgavata existed in Bhāsa's time. The Bhāgavata as we have it makes Kṛṣṇa the 8th child of Devakī; it makes the heavenly voice foretell Kamsa about his death, while in Bhāsa, the child is the 7th, and sage Madhuka's curse it is that causes Kamsa's death. There are many such discrepancies also. Bhāsa describes the Hallsaka of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis, while Bhāgavata calls it the Rāsakridā. The former refers to the names of the Gopis as Ghoṣa, Sundarī, Vanamālā, Candraraktā, Mṛgāksī, while the Bhāgavata adds many more names (though Rādhā does not come there; she comes only in the later Jayadeva, Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa etc). Bhāsa's story seems to correspond with the Jaina Neminātha Purāṇa in some particulars and also with the Buddhist Ghaṭajāṭaka to some extent. We conclude this chapter by guessing that Bhāsa might have lived only about 4 or 5 centuries later than Vālmīki and Vyāsa and must have imbibed their ideas fully.



Chapter. Bharata and Vyāsa.

Hāndatta, Pañḍarātha, Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūta-ghatōtkacha, Tirubhanga, - These dramas do not use the word bharata vākya at the end, but the other 8 in this series do use the word exactly as in the case of all other Sanskrit dramas. But this by itself does not decide that Bharata should have preceded Bhāsa, since the scribes might have introduced this system of writing the word as Viśvanātha in his Sāhitya-darpana seems to indicate discussing this very point.

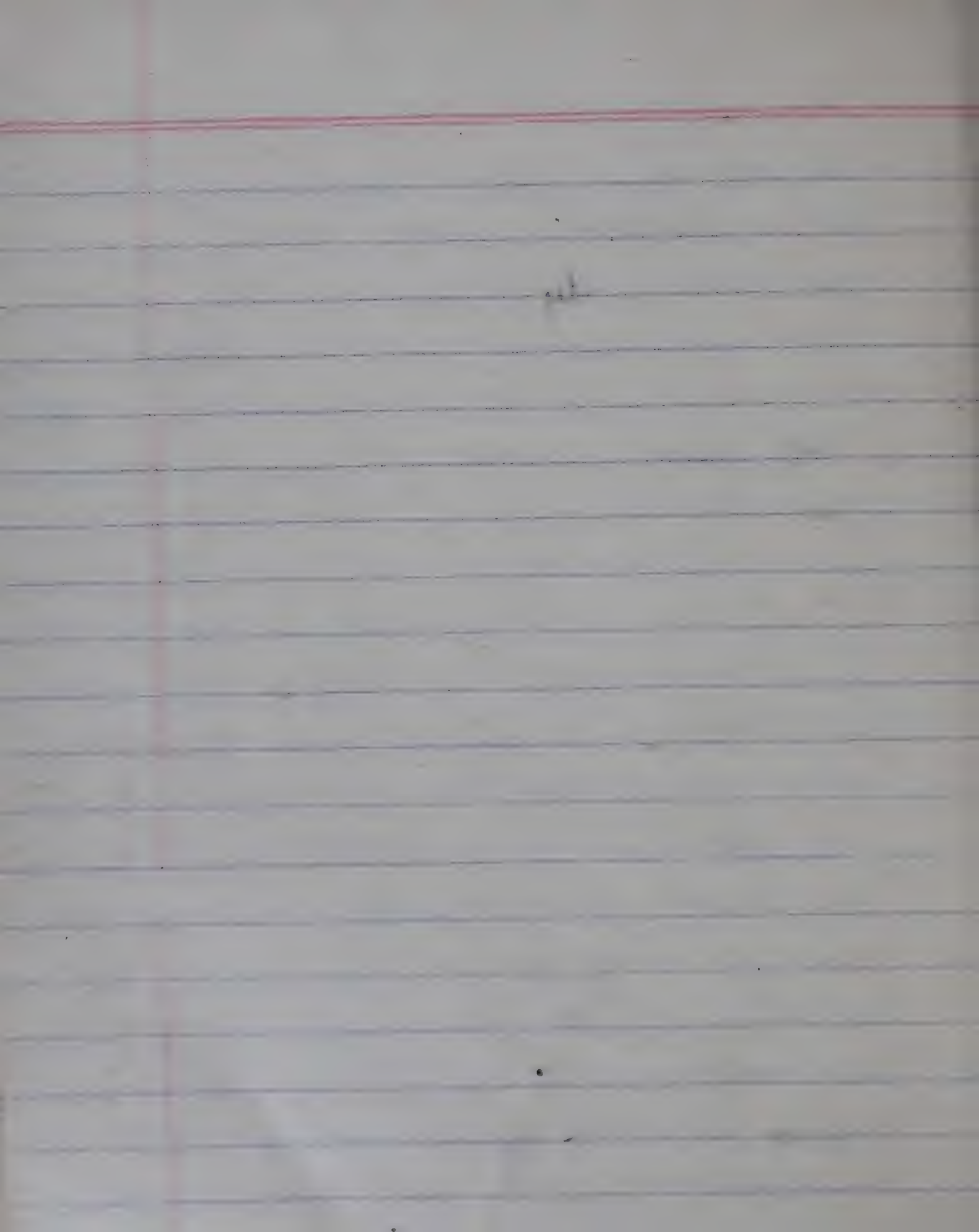
लोकस्य चरितं नाट्यं is the definition of drama in Bharata's work (=लोकवृत्तानुकरणं in Verse 78 I adhyāya - N.S. Edition of 1894). In other words, when Bharata wrote his work, drama was only reflecting life and had not as yet concerned itself with the ideals thereof. We see this very reflection of society as it is in Bhāsa. But the very same Bharata declared in verse 81, लोकोपदेशजननं एतत् शरीर्यति and here the word शरीर्यति seems to have a peculiar significance. Evidently the critics who



Who came after Bharata seem to have completely changed the outlook from the realistic to the idealistic dramas. This apart, Bharata in VI.150 directs the Nāṇḍī Sūtradhāra to quit ~~after~~ the Pūrvāranga ceremony (of worshipping the stage); the Sthāpaka Sūtradhāra should then announce the plot of the drama. Bhāsa echoes this in प्रस्तावनाप्रतिसमापनसूत्रम्: in Dūtāghatōtkaca Nāṇḍī. If we understand aright the hint in Bhāsa's statement, it looks as though he argues that the Pūrvāranga Sūtradhāra can easily be dispensed with. That is why later dramatists dropped out the first Sūtradhāra and started straightaway with the latter only. In this connection the adjective - सूत्रकारकृतम्: used by Bāṇa with reference to Bhāsa's dramas (in Hansaakṛita introductory verse 15) is to be carefully considered. In all these dramas excepting Kannaḥāra, the word प्रस्तावना alone has been used (instead of the usual प्रस्तावना); this is characteristically very brief and ends with the words 'अये! किं नु खलु मायै विज्ञापनमग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते? अहम्! वक्ष्यामि।'; even कर्णभार also ends thus. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganapati Sastriar, who

bequeathed these dramas to the world of scholars, unfortunately argued that this was definitely a Bhāsa characteristic, that all dramas with such introductory scenes were Bhāsa's dramas only. That this definition was vitiated both by the defects of अयापि and अत्रियापि (too narrow and too wide) was shown to the world when Śaktibhadrā, Āṭhuryakūḍamāṇi, Dānakaprahasana, Subhadrādharmajaya, Maṭṭhaviṭāsaprahasana and such other dramas were published. In this connection Abhinavagupta's testimony deserves to be noted - Nāṭya Śāstra Com. Edited in Baroda Vol. II

p 251 - द्विविधः प्रस्तावना भवति पूर्वरङ्गस्य अङ्गभूतात्मस्य वा। तत्र पूर्वरङ्गे अस्माः कविः उदासीनः स्थापक इव स्वतंत्रो निर्माता त्वन्यो वा कविः ध्रुवागतादावपि पदम् । यदहं श्रीहर्षः - अत इव हार्सा (भास्व ?) नाम कविः कास्मिन्चिन्नाटके (नरुविक्रमे ?) दिवं प्रातःचित्तज्वरेण कलिः इत इव अभिवर्तते । अशक्यमस्य पुरतः अवस्थानं ... etc. The passage is very defective, but on the amendment suggested by Mr Kavi himself, we could see that according to the testimony of Śri Harṣa (not the dramatist Emperor, nor even the Naiṣaṭha author, but a Nāṭyaśāstra commentator of about the 6th cen A.D.), Bhāsa must have



written another drama Nalavikrama which ended exactly as other drama prastāvanās now end, without the words अये! किं नु खलु मयि °. Tradition also records that Bhāsa was the author of Kirāṇāvatī and other dramas and without seeing these other dramas also, it would be hazardous to define their characteristics.

To continue about Bharata. It is Nāṭya sāstra XVIII 19, and 20 make it abundantly clear that it was not Bharata who prohibited representation of death on the stage; it must have been some critics who immediately followed him that prohibited it and banished it completely. The Verses themselves should be carefully read -

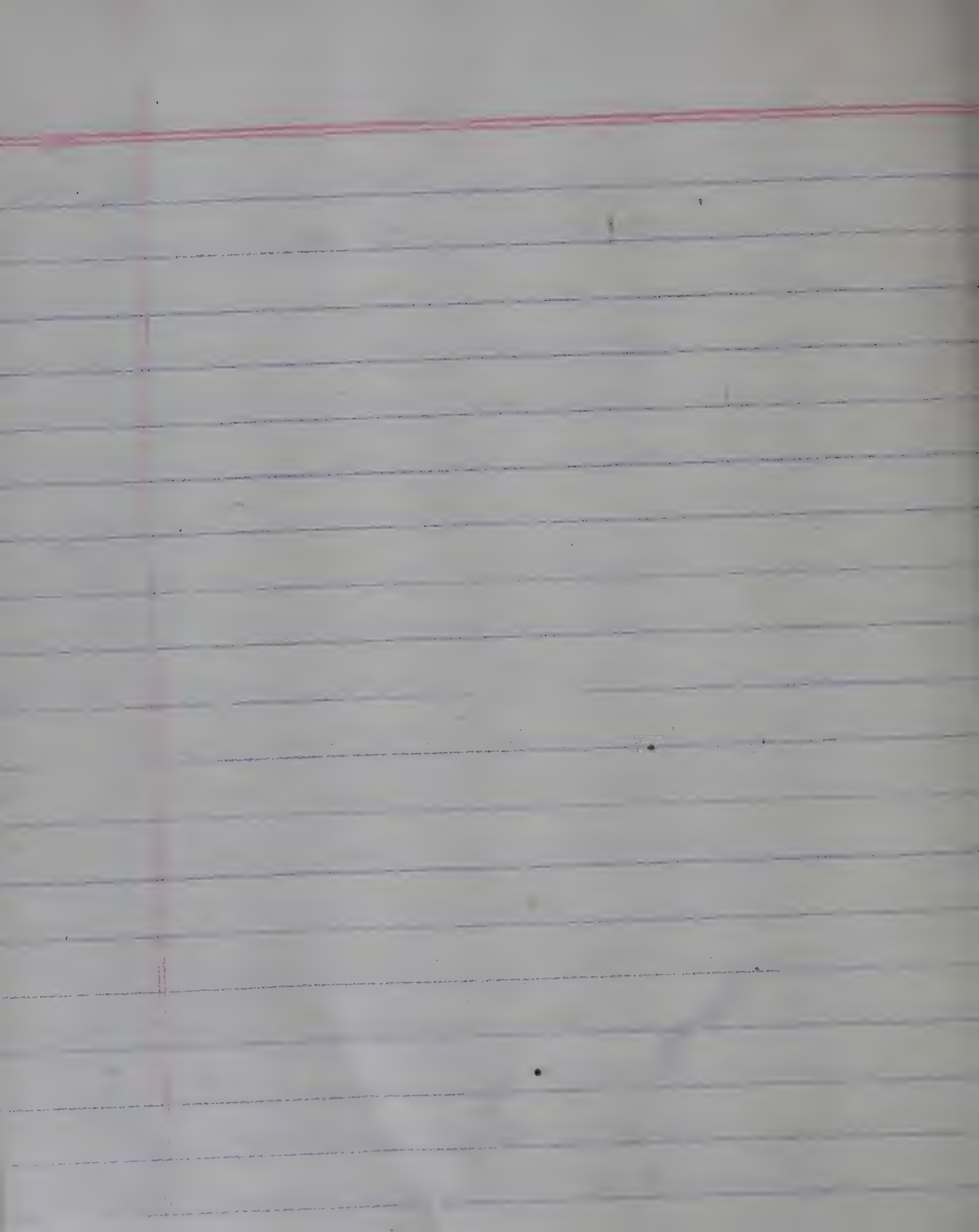
न भेद्यं नपि न भेद्यं न नपि रुधिरसूतिः ।

रुद्धे, प्रहरणं कार्यं न नपि व्यक्तघातनम ॥

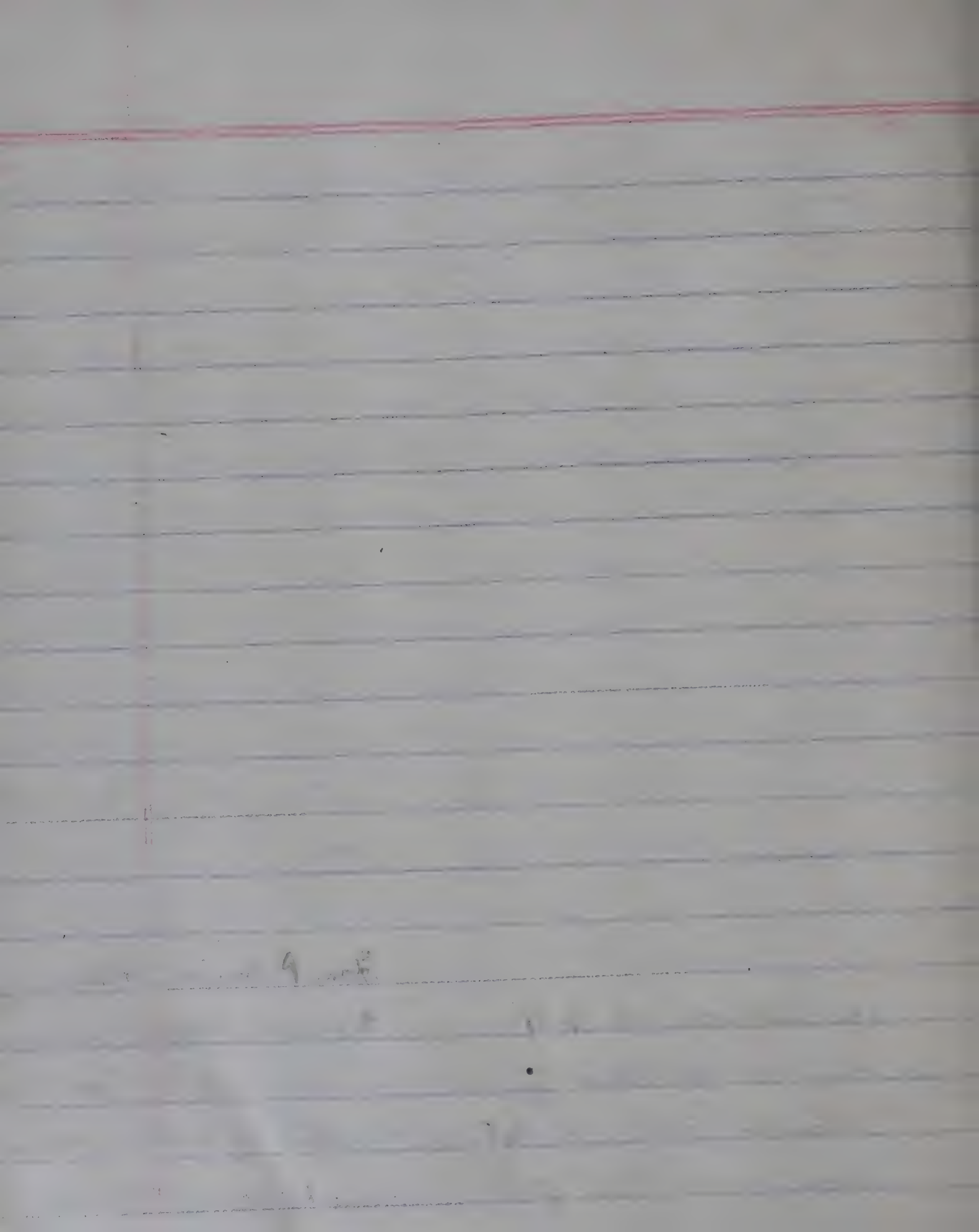
रक्षा मात्रेण कर्तव्यं शस्त्राणां मोक्षणं बुद्धेः

अथवा भिनयोपेतं कुर्याच्छेद्यं विधानतः ॥

Particularly the words underlined - striking there may be, but not clear ^{or open} murder on the stage; does this not imply that अथवा भिनयोपेतं a murdering rather overtly may be permitted? The word मात्रेण again implies that



some weapons may be discharged or perhaps pretended to
 be drawn forth; only a pretence of cutting with the weapons
 may be exhibited on the stage. From this, it is quite clear that
 some small mock fights could be permitted on the stage
 by Bharata. As a matter of fact, Bharata deals with
 Vīrarasa dominated drama, like Vyāyoga, Samavakāra
 utṣṛṣṭikāṅka among the ten different kinds of dramas
 and it was inevitable that death should be exhibited
 at the end in such dramatic scenes. Maybe such Vyāyoga
 and Samavakāras might not have survived today, but it
 is interesting that Bhāsa's dramas include a Mādhyaṃ
 Vyāyoga and Pañcarātra a Samavakāra (in Bharata's
 sense of the words). Bhāsa's Vāli, Duryōdhana, Daśaratha
 actually die on the stage and go to heaven escorted by
 Apsaras on hamsa propelled aerial chariots, in
 the full gaze of the audience. From Patanjali's testimony,
 we understand that dramatist troupes staged drama
 like Kamsavadha and Balibandha and Rama was
 'actually killed' on the stage. From this it is evident that
 Bhāsa should have flourished almost immediately after



Bharata, but sufficiently before the critics following him succeeded in prohibiting death scenes altogether on the stage.

This Nāṭya Śāstra XII. 179 (N.S. Edn.) enjoins 'lion seats' for kings and gods, chairs for chaplains and ministers, seats made of wood for Brahmins, Carpets for princes etc.

देवानां नृपतीनां च दद्यात् सिंहासनं द्विजाः ।

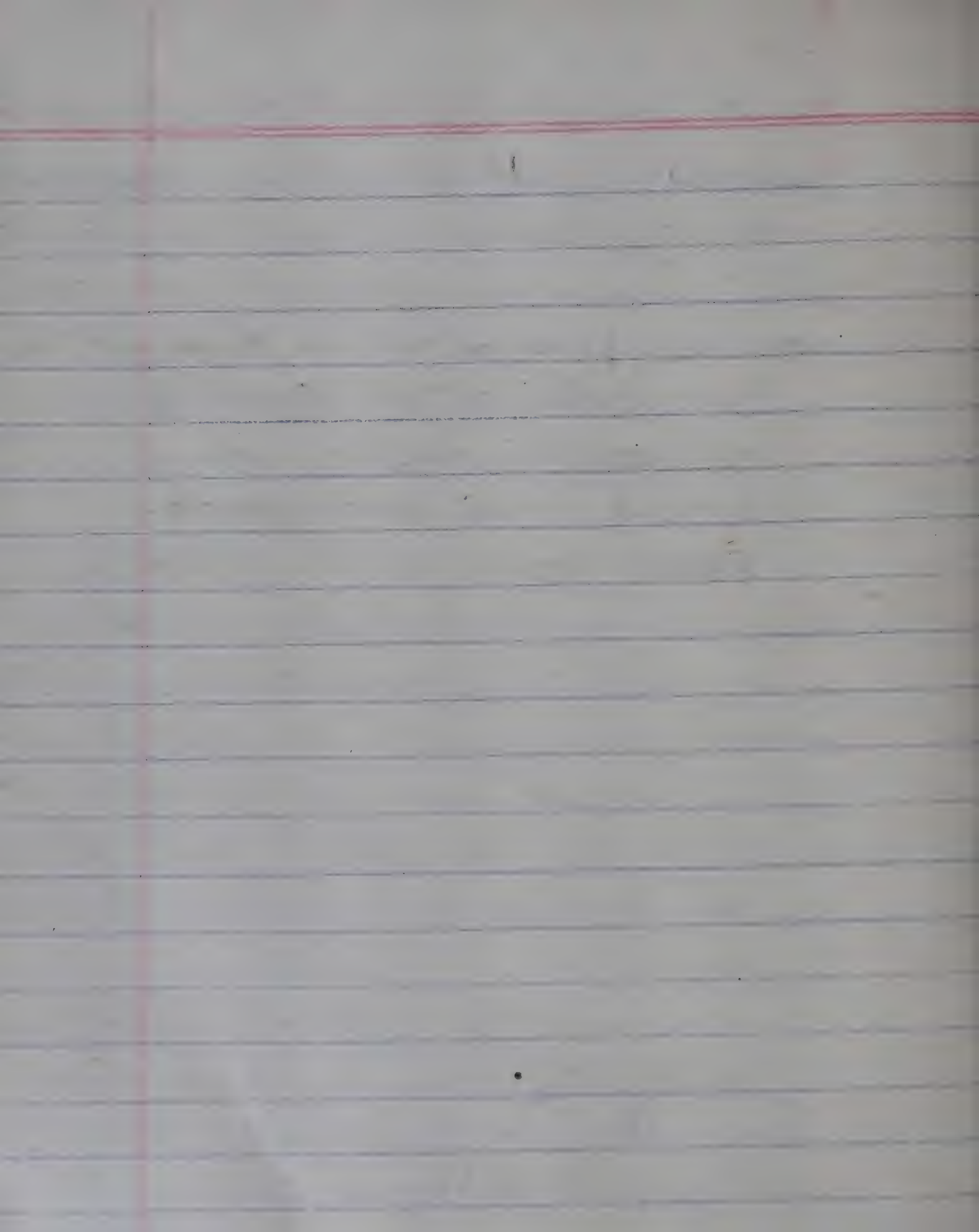
पुरोधसाममात्यानां भवेद्द्वयसनं तथा ॥

मुण्डासनं च दातव्यं सेनानीयुवराजयोः ।

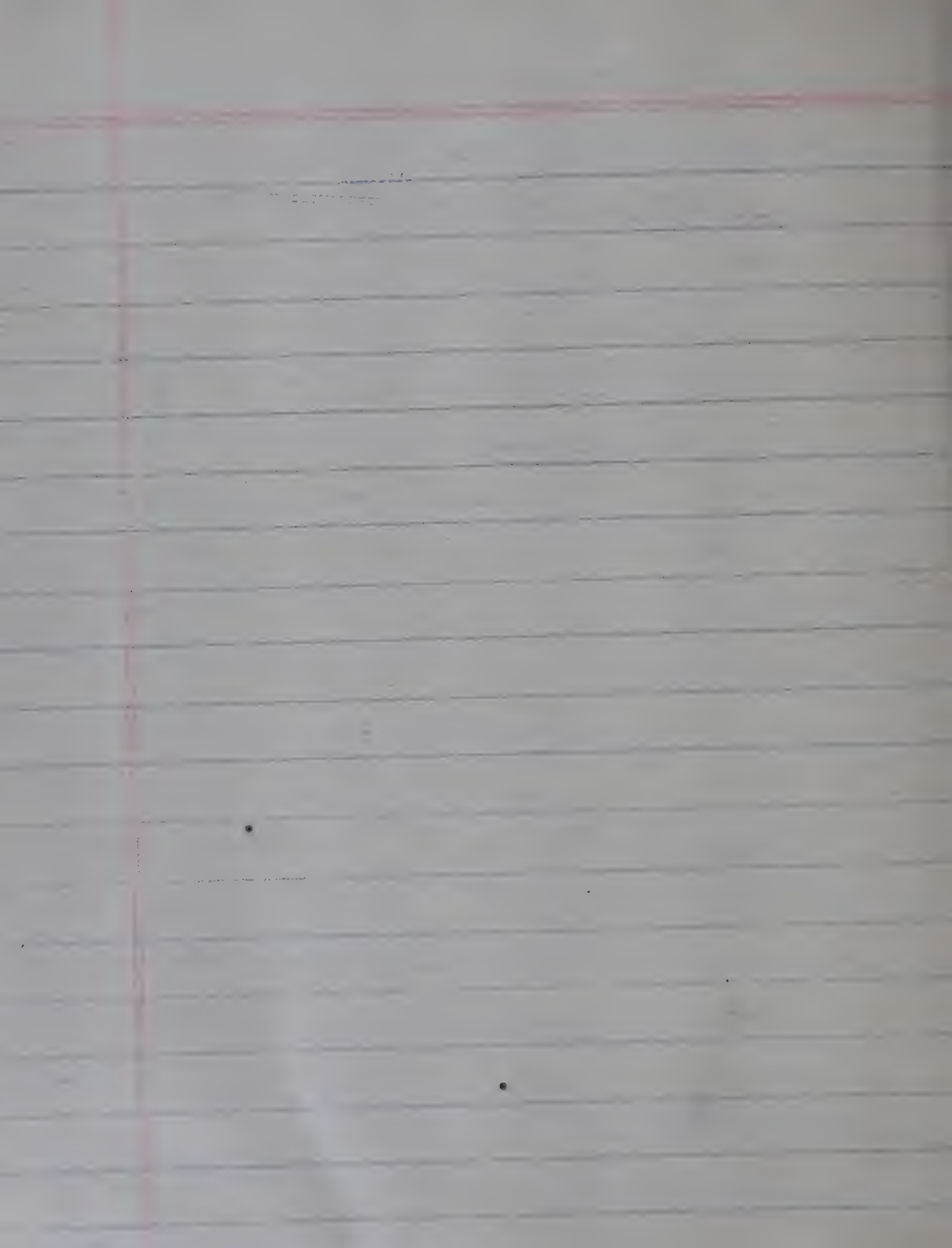
काष्ठासनं ब्रह्मणानां कुमारानां कुशासनम् च ।

But in the Dūtā Nāṭya, Duryodhana directs Drona to sit on a Kūrmāsana (tortoise seat), Bhishma (a Kṣātriya) to sit on a Simhāsana, Sākuni (another Kṣātriya) to sit on a Skin-seat and the rest to sit according to the availability of the seats in his Durbar Hall. But from this we cannot draw any inference as to relative priority.

Even the Sākāra similar to Mr Malaprop, described by both Bharata and Bhasa cannot determine their relative priority. Creating disgust by his deformed personality, and more deformed gait, extremely gaudily



dressed in too long clothes, and longer flower garlands, — above all walking defiantly — this is Bharata's description (XII-147 to 150 — Baroda Edn. Vol II p 215). He was called by the peculiar name of Sākāra as he persisted in mispronouncing all ३१, ४ and ५ as ३१ only; he is described as ^{being} easily excited, as being pleased also without any reason, and being of very loose morals. Abhinavagupta in his Commentary refers to a Mahākavi Bhīma — of whom nothing else is known — and his drama Pratijnāchārāṇakya wherein also a Sākāra named Vindhyaaketa is similarly described. This apart, Bhasa and following him Śūdraka, have described this Sākāra. The king's sister's husband, Samsthānaka as he calls himself in season and out of season, he proudly accosts Vasantadevī with these words and even demands that he should be loved for this very reason. In the Mṛcchakatika, the Vīta, his loose and unscrupulous servant calls him ३१ ३१ ३१: or the son of an unmarried (prostitute). We cannot say whether Bhasa created this character from his fertile brain. If it were so, his fame must really be unique. In Chin. I. 16



he describes his Sākāra thus

आभिनयति वयंस्ते सर्वगात्रैः किमपि किमप्यनवेक्षितार्थमाह ।

अनुचितगतिः अप्रगल्भवाक्यः पुरुषमयस्य पशोर्नवावतारः ॥

Every bodily movement is crooked and suggestive, he talks nonsensically, walks most unsteadily, of keyhole speech - he is the human embodiment of a beast! In the Avimāraka, the Vidūṣaka refers to a Nāṭya Śāstra and Keith in his Sanskrit Drama p 292. suggests that this might be a reference to Bharata. Just as the latter dealing with the Prākṛt languages spoken by the lower characters in the drama, does not refer to the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt, Bhāsa's dramas also do not make use of this Mahārāṣṭrian Prākṛt. Dandin in the 6th cen A.D has already bestowed the highest praise on this Prākṛt - प्रकृष्टं प्रकृतं त्रिदुः. This apart, already some critics have argued that Bhāsa himself must have been earlier, and what is more important, that he must have been the author of another Nāṭya Śāstra also. The fact that Bhāsa has praised Balarāma, the tutelary deity of the Tamil stage in the Svapna Nāṇḍi is significant in this connection.

The Calcutta Department of Letters Vol XXIX published by the Calcutta University p25 contains an article by Sri M. Ghosh. Therein he has argued that Bhāsa has used two metres not taught by Bharata. Among them Indrakīrā + Upendra Vajrā becomes Upajāti, and Bharata has dealt with these two individually (though not as Upajāti) and so 'Anpachandasika' is the only one extra not dealt with in Bharata (For the list of the metres of Bhāsa, Devadhar's appendix might be consulted). The writer's conclusion might be altered a bit and the relative priority deserves to be mentioned thus: Extra metres (as from Bharata) in Bhāsa 1

" in Kālidasa - 5

" in Aśvaghosa - 7

" in Bhatti - 8

" in Bhāranī - 10

" in Māgha - 22.

Of course we have left out the epics as they must form a different category altogether. According to this, Bhāsa must be slightly later than Bharata.

Now let us compare the Devatāmandala in both for 10

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wing that very scholar's classification with slight changes
 Bharata (Benares-chauk
 Edn). Bhāsa (Devadha)

I Lower or Nīcā gods

Nāgas (Serpent) - I 10, 63 etc; II 8, III
 27; IV 254; V 51.

Birds (like Jatāyu) - III 9. 29.

Watery Animals - I 88; III 7; IV 253

II Pitr̥s - III 27, V 52

Bhūtas (or Supernatural spirits)
 I 87, 92; III 8; IV 11; V 54; XXII 216

Rākṣasas - I 10, V 47; XXVII 216.

Pisāchas - I 92, III 27, XXII 216

Yakṣas - I 10, III 8.

Asuras - I 10, 63; II 18; V 46

XXII, 16; XXXIII 216.

Nāgalokā - Pātāla - Bāla I. 5.
 Kāliyanāga - " IV.

Birds - Garuda - Viṣṇu's or Kṛṣṇa's
 vehicle - Bāla I. 21; Dūtakāya I. 53
 Jatāyu, Pratimā II. 22.

Aquatic Animals - Samudra god
 appearing before dying heroes - appearing
 before Rāma just before bridge construction
 in Aśhisaka.

Pitr̥s - appear before dying Daśaratha
 Pratimā II end; Śrāddha in Pratimā

Bhūtas - Supreme Spirit = ॐ नमो भगवते
 विद्महे - Bāla II. 10.

Rākṣasas - Bāla I - Devadhas 518p

Pisāchas " "

Yakṣas - A female Yakṣiṇī named
 Avantisundarī - Svapna V 54 3p

Viśvāśaras - Avim - IV. 3 - 2 of them
 describe Rāma Rāvanayudha in Aśhisaka
 VI.

Chāndālā Kanyās enter Kamsa's
 body - Bāla II.

Asuras - Surasipu in Karma-
 bhāra Nāndi.

III Dikpālas or quarter deities.

Sūrya I 62, 85; II 5; III 24

Chandra I 84; II 5, III 24, V 51

Hutāsāsana = Agni III.

Yama I 90; II 6; III 26; IV 253.

Varuna I 61; III 28; IV 253

Indra - I, 11; II 4; III 24; IV 252

Lokapālas - I 85; III 5; V 50.

IV Gandharvas. I 10; III 7; V 46

Apsarastriś - I 47; III 7; V 45.

Rāma V. 252

Asvini - twin fods - II. 5.

Maruto - I 85; III 6

Rudras, I 87, III 6, 26

Vissvedevas - II 26

Āditya I 87

Sūrya's horses - Karna Bhāra 19.

Chandra = Soma - Pratimā V. 17.

Agni brought Sitā in Abhisheka VI.

Avimāraśa's father.

Yama = Sūrya's putra - Pratimā V.

Varuna = Samudrarāja appears before Rāma just before bridging the sea.

Indra = Śakra - Pratimā V. 17. Madhy 43; Virubhanga 35; Abhis I 3; II. 18

Dikpālas - four only - Pratimā V. 17. (Later only they become eight).

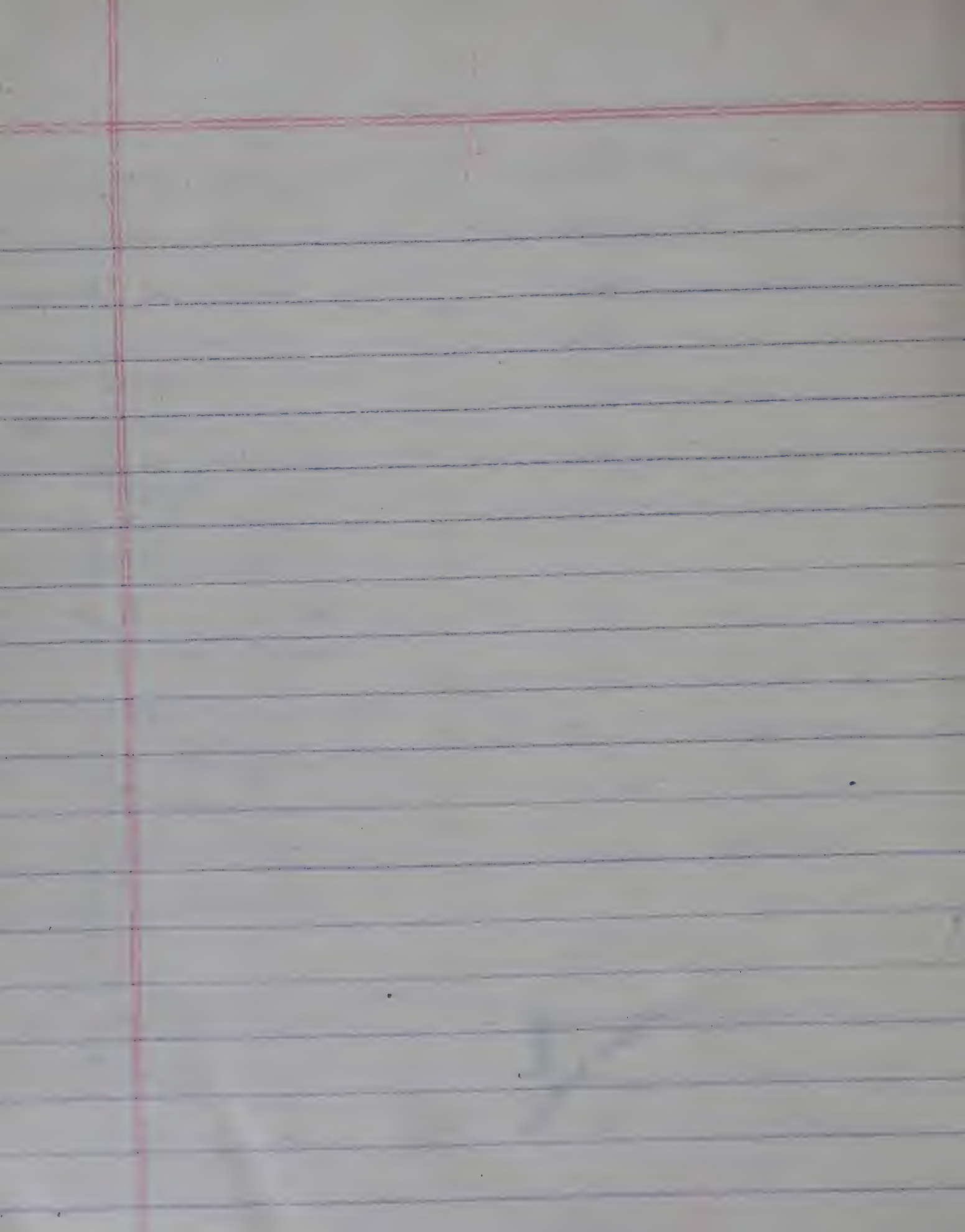
Apsarastriś escort dhyūgheśas to Virasvarga - Abhis + Virubhanga

Rāma - Svapna IV. 1

Asvinis - Dūtā Vākya 19 (parents of Nakula + Sahadeva).

Rudra - Bāla III. 12 = Siva -

Madhyam 43.



V Celestial seers

Brhaspati III 4; XXXIV 79; XXXVI 52

Nārada - XXXVI 66.

Nārada - Bāla I (beginning)

Avimāraṇa VI p. 180.

VI Earthly sages.

Baladeva - IV 254.

Balarāma - Svapna I; Ūrubhanga

Nahusa - XXXVI 60, 64, 67

Chanda bhāṅgava - Avim VI p. 176

Sanatkumāra III 31

Madhūka - Curses Kamsa - Bāla

VII Trimūrtis and their sons.

Brahma - I 61; III 4; IV 1; XXXIII 207.

Brahma - Madhyama 43.

Viṣṇu - I 62, IV 4, 251; V 100, XXXIII 207

Viṣṇu 11, 43; Bāla III 12

Śiva - I 1, 93; IV 6, 16, 248; XXXIII 207²³⁸

Śiva = Rudra = Hara Bāla III 2

Madhyama 43; Aśhis. I 3.

Kārttikeya - (Śiva's son) I 94; III 4

S'aktishara = Kārttikeya, Pratijñā

II 2; Bāla II 22; Madhyama 43

Ganeśa (Śiva's son) - III 9 (?)

Ganeśa - Pratijñā I, III (?)

VIII Goddesses.

Sarasvatī - III 5, 25

Lakṣmī - III 5, 25; IV 252

Lakṣmī = Śrī - Kamsa's

Rājadhī - Bāla CTI.

Uma = Pārvatī = Candīkā III 251;

umā = Pārvatī - Pancha II 44

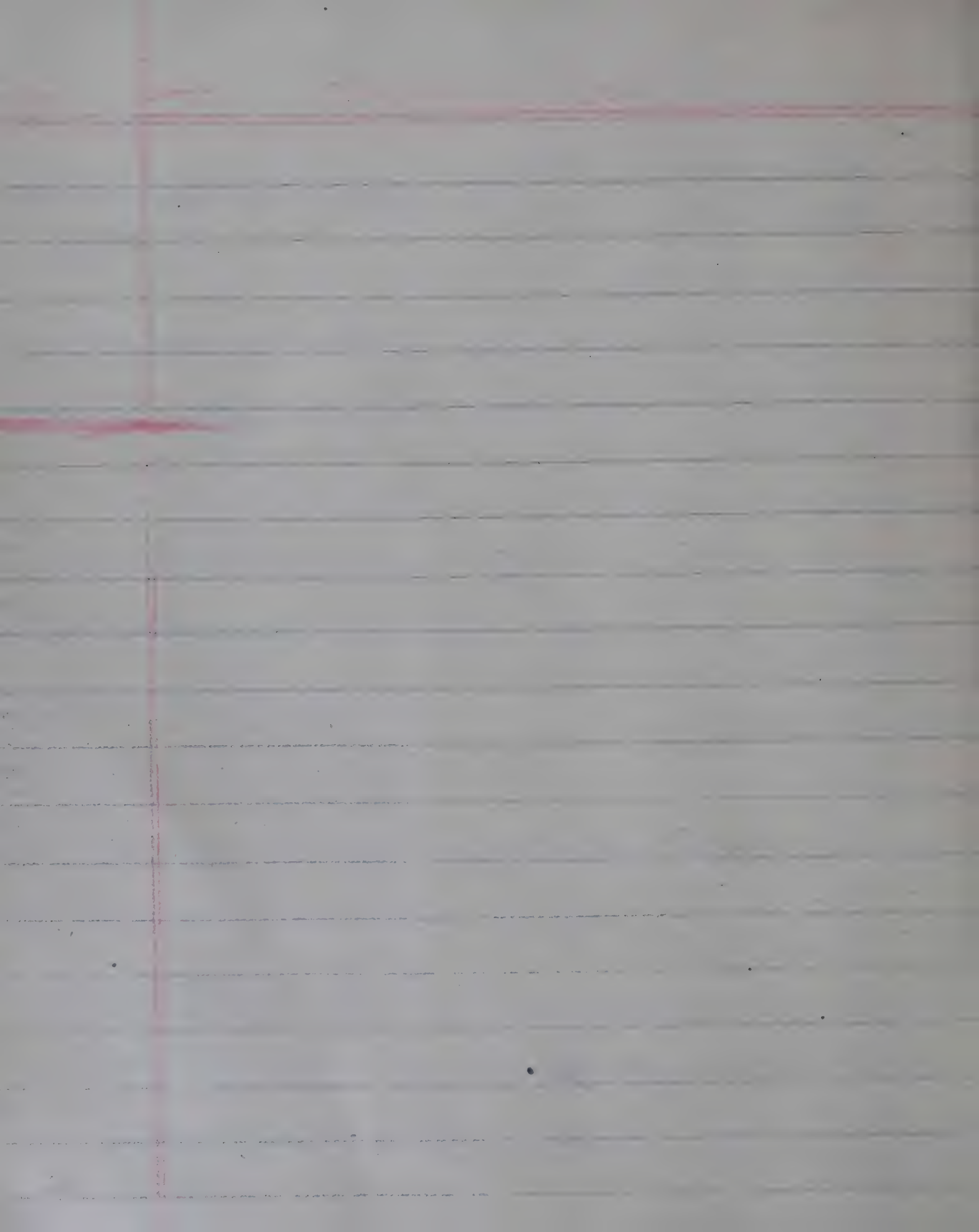
V 53, IV 246.

= Kārttyāyani appears

before Kamsa - Bāla II 20.

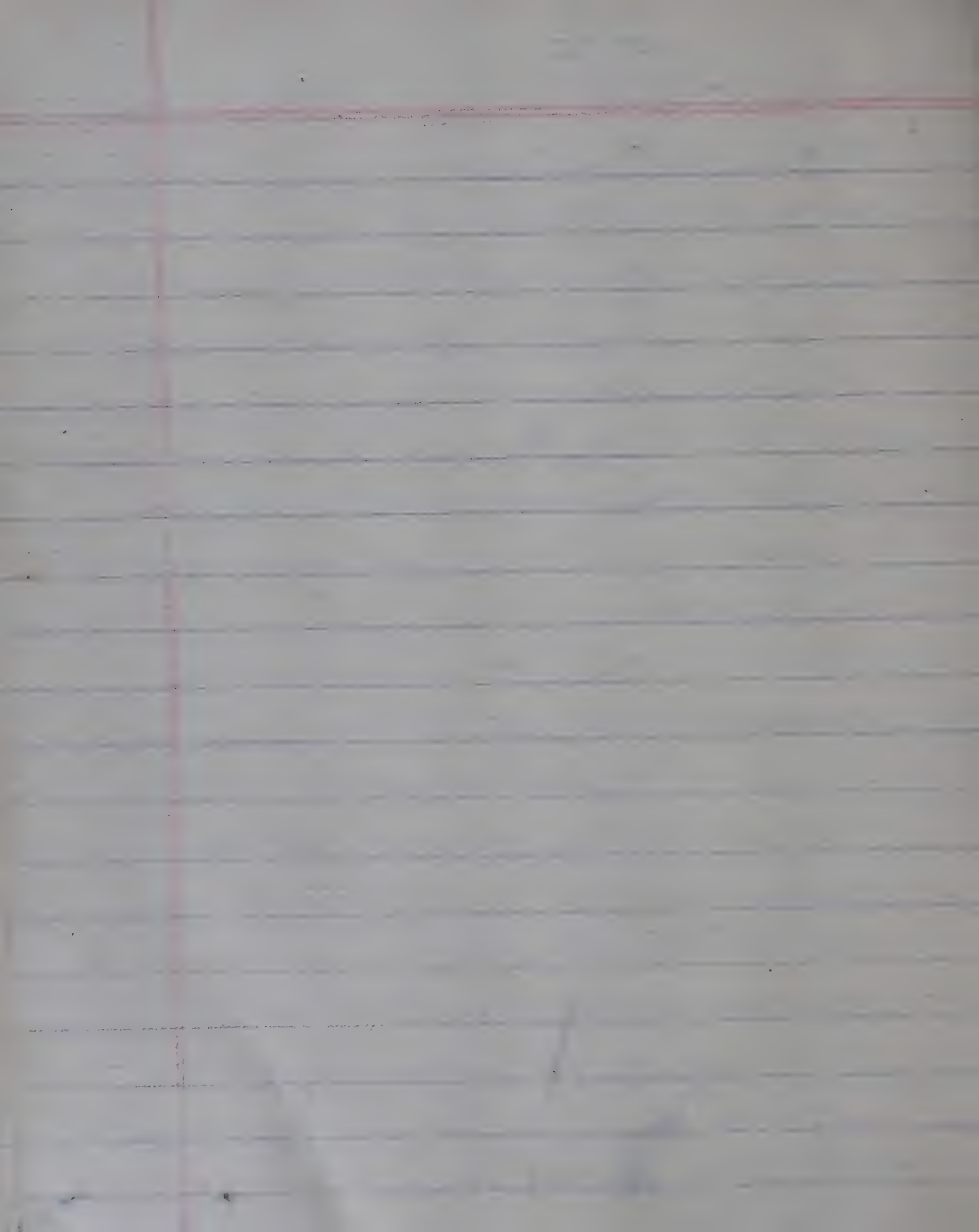
Siddhi, Medhā, Smṛti, Mati III 5

Niyati, I 90; III 6



This correspondence in parallel columns convinces us that the devatā mandala in both is practically the same. If some individual god is omitted it is but accidental. In this connection, it must be clearly stated that the inclusion of Gaṇapati is not correct as already stated by me in an article in the Mythic Society Journal New series Vol XLI on the Gaṇapati cult. The word गणेश in Nāṭyaśāstra II 9 is commented on by Abhinavagupta as Gaṇapati and Dr Gaṇapati Sastriar explains that the Brahman in Pratijñā III refers also this very god. But as against this it must be asserted that there is no reference to Gaṇapati in the modern sense prior to about the 5th cen A.D. That is why we inserted a question mark in our list as against this god. Bhasa remarks for example गृहमेव भगवोऽं रामं आलेख्य (Abhisaka VI. 4), दुरिगणवत्सिलं (Abhisaka VI. 4), दुरिगृहभगवोऽं (Abhisaka I. 23) and in all these places, it is obvious that गणेश cannot refer to the modern Gaṇapati god.

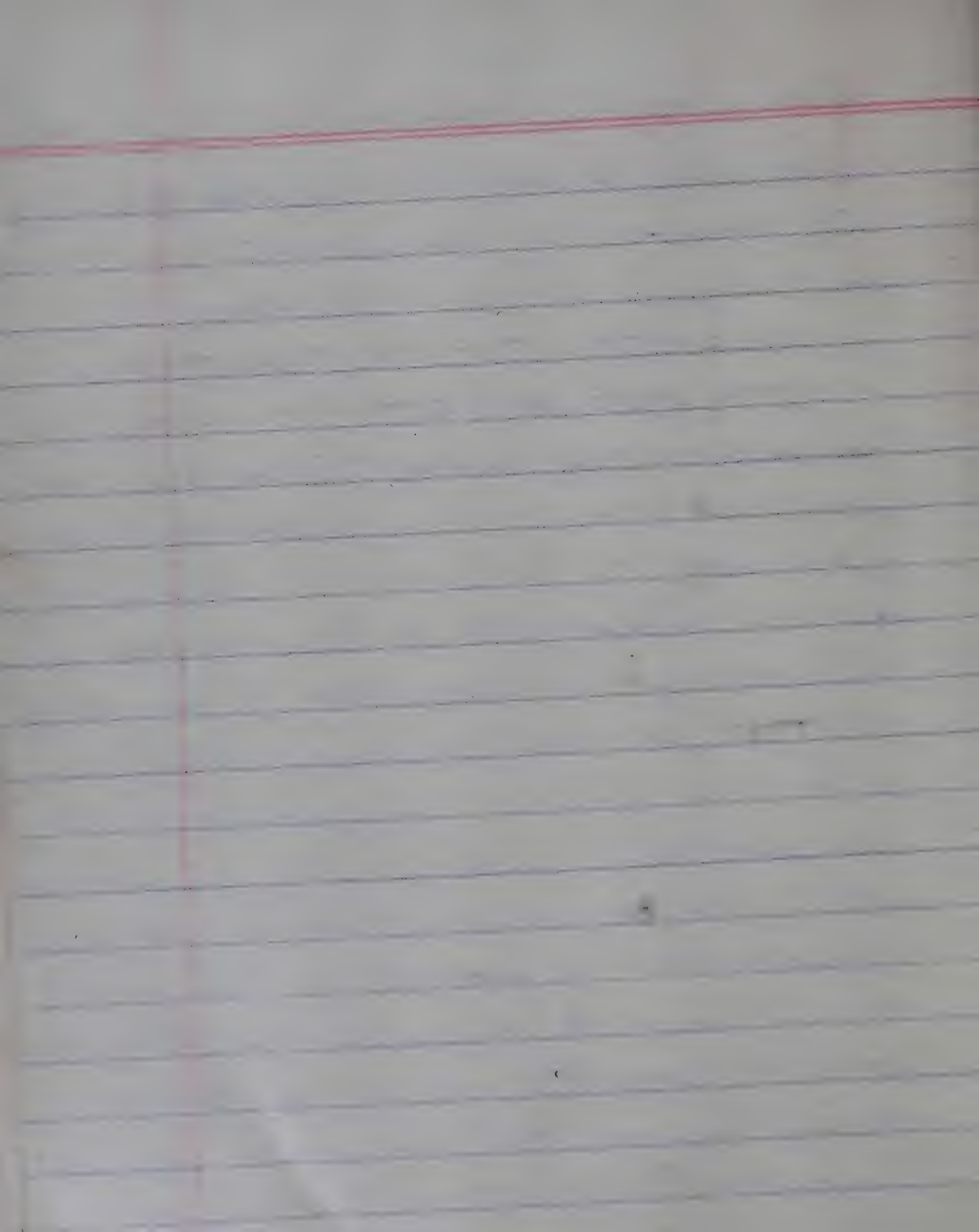
Some four or five centuries after Bhasa, the Puranic votaries began to worship Siva and Viṣṇu ~~excluding~~ ~~excluding~~



Brahma from their worship. It looks as though in Bharuk
or Bharsastine, Brahma was also worshipped along
with Visnu or Siva. In this Connection, the 43rd Verse of
the Madhyama Vyāyoga is noteworthy:-

विभकर्ता इतिः शक्रः विष्णुः शक्तिधरो यमः ।

एतेषु कथ्यतां केन ते सदृशः पिता? - Here the
names of the gods starting with Brahma is signi-
ficant. But even in that remote period, Hari and Hara
had already tried to make Indra the king of the gods
and this process ended with these very gods becoming
the highest gods in their pantheon. The Verse. *ब्रह्म
हृदि हरादिव* (Abhiseka I. 3) is significant in this Connection.
In due course of time, it was found by the Purānic
priests that Brahma indiscriminately granted boons
to their favourites' enemies, the Rākṣasas and caused
infinite trouble to the gods; when the latter prayed to
them for succour, Brahma quietly replied - *विष्वक्षोऽपि
संवर्ष स्वयं यदेतुमसां प्रसंग* - It is not proper for oneself to
cut a poisonous tree even after having once planted it
himself. It was found in the end that they had to be



rescued either by Viṣṇu or Śiva and so it was only natural that they exalted them alone as against all other gods. In Bhāsa's dramas, references can be found either to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and his incarnations Vāmana, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Naraśimha and Varāha. It looks as though the other incarnations to make up the figure ten were included in the Purāṇas only about 3 or 4 centuries later. Sri R. C. Hazra in his Purāṇic Records and Customs remarks - "The Matsya Purāṇa (54) includes Buddha among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. Mārkaṇḍeya (4) mentions avatāras beginning with Varāha and ending with Mathurākṛṣṇa but does not mention Buddha. The Hari Vamśa does not mention Buddha but mentions Kalki. Brahme Purāṇa agrees with Mārkaṇḍeya and Hari Vamśa. Jayāṅkhyā Samhitā of about 450 A.D. of the Pāncarātra school does not refer to the Buddha. The mention of the Buddha in the Gitagovinda, the Daśāvatāra Carita of Kṣemendra, a hymn of Vāmmalavar and Saint Śaṅkara, Viṣṇu Purāṇa and a Pallava inscription beside Sri

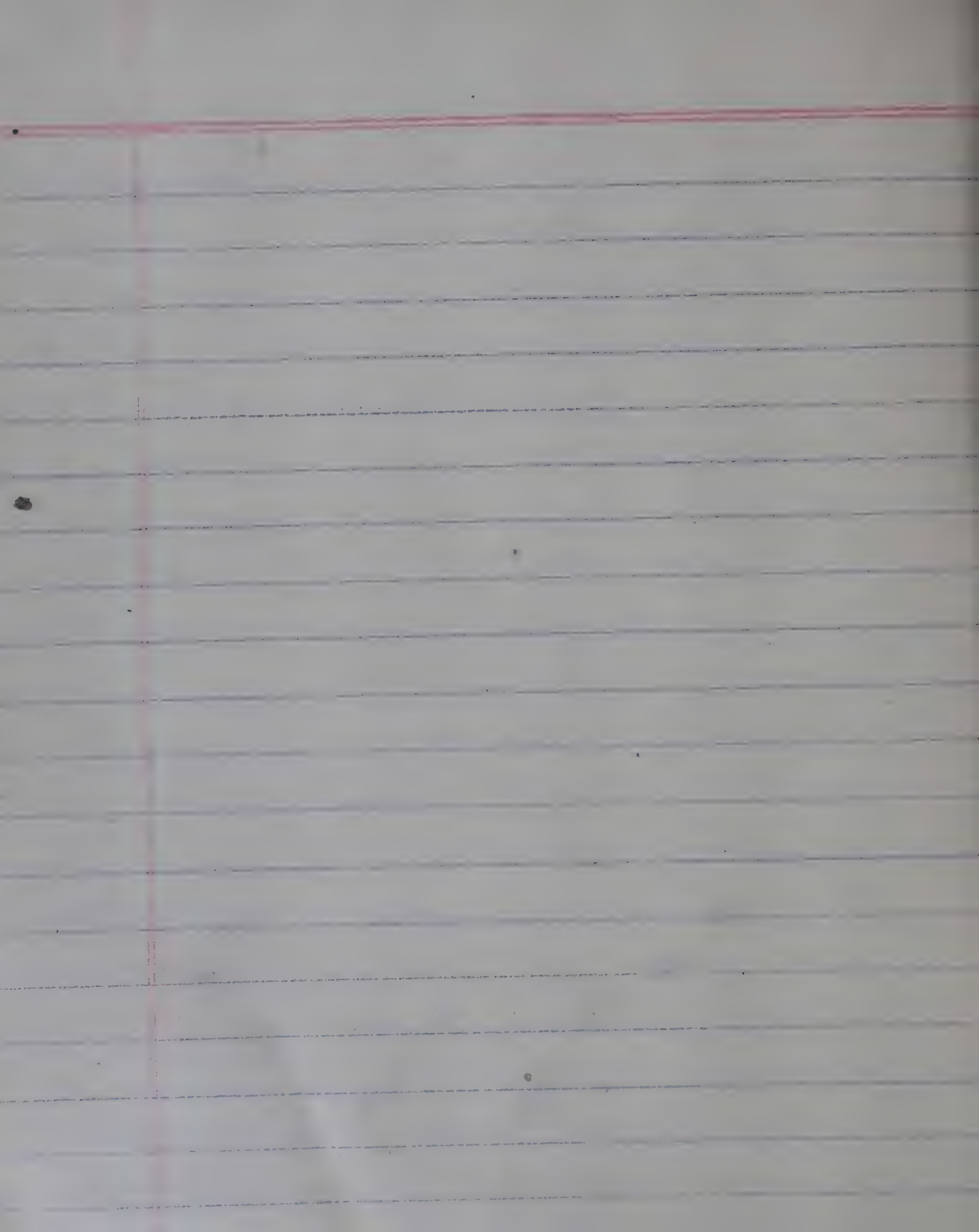
Sāṃkara's inclusion shows that this avatāra was
 admitted in orthodox circles by the 7th cen. A.D. and
 probably by about 530." Bhaṣa does not refer to Fish,
 Tortoise and Buddha incarnations; whether Paraś'rama
 was glorified into an incarnation or not by him is doubt-
 ful. Bāla-kāṇḍa Nāṇḍi refers to Nārāyaṇa in the first
 line assigning him to the Treta yuga, but it is not clear
 to whom he refers there. But it is quite clear that the Avatāra
 conception had been already fully understood by the
 Paurāṇic votaries and Bhaṣa declares that the same God
 incarnated in different yugas as different persons, the
 same God killing Vairochana, Bali and Rāvaṇa (Bāla I. 8
 Bāla I. 4 refers to the battles between gods and asuras,
 almost daily. Dūta-ghaṭoṭ Kāka Nāṇḍi refers to the
 hundreds of tricks employed by Viṣṇu off and
 on for the protection of the world - त्रिभुवनैकपरायणः
 उपायशतयुक्तिकरः. Īrulhanga 35 refers to Kṛṣṇa
 as having already become the jagatām priya or
 the favourite of the world. His 8 hands are already
 referred to in Dūta-ghaṭoṭ, and His special weapons

Sārngga, Kaumodaki, Sānkha, Nandaka and
 His Vehicle Gaṇḍa are referred to in ~~Bala~~ *Bala* and
 Dūta Vākya (of course in the interpolated scene
 of the latter). Kṛṣṇa's Sānkha is not as yet glorified
 by the title Pāncajānya; it is simply referred to
 as being lifted by Viṣṇu Himself from the milk
 ocean. ~~संक्रान्तिमुद्रा~~ *संक्रान्तिमुद्रा*: Bāla I. 25; the
 story in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa I, Adhyāya 45
 according to which it was fashioned out of the
 bone of Pāncajānya, a fish that had swallowed
 His teacher Sāndipani's child is evidently unknown.
 Dr Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism* opines that
 Vāsudeva and Saṁkarsana were the only two
 Vyūhas referred to in the most ancient inscriptions
 of about the 1st cen A.D., the other two Vyūhas coming
 in only later, by about the 6th cen. From this it is
 quite clear that the name of our drama Pāncarātra
 has nothing to do with the Pāncarātra philosophy
 which came to be perfected in the Jayākhyā Sūritā
 of about 450 A.D. and which referred to all the four

Vyūhas of Viṣṇu. Sri M. Ghosh (whose article on Bharata in the Calcutta University Department of Letters was referred to earlier) argues rather wrongly that Kṛṣṇa worship had not started as yet in that period. That very scholar, in page 18 of the article referred to, quotes some Prākṛit Verses of the Nāṭya Śāstra wherein we read among other things - Kṛṣṇa changes to Kanka in Prākṛit, Yakeṣa into jakkhaṭ. Of course, the reading adopted in the N.S. Edition (as also in the Baroda Edition) is uṣṇam becomes uhvam, but the Baroda Edn. refers to a 'da' mess collated by the Editor Mr Kavi which reads कृष्णं कृष्ण. This may be doubtful enough, but throughout the Nāṭyaśāstra, there is no reference to Kṛṣṇa anywhere else. Viṣṇu might be referred to Padma-nābha, Nārāyaṇa, Janārdana, Śarottama, but the last word is also used to refer to Śiva and Hutaśana. N.S. Edn. XVI. 76 refers to Viṣṇu:

विष्णुः सृजति भूतानि, विष्णुः संहस्ते प्रजाः ।

विष्णु प्रभूतं त्रैलोक्यं, विष्णुर्लोकान्निदेवतम् ॥



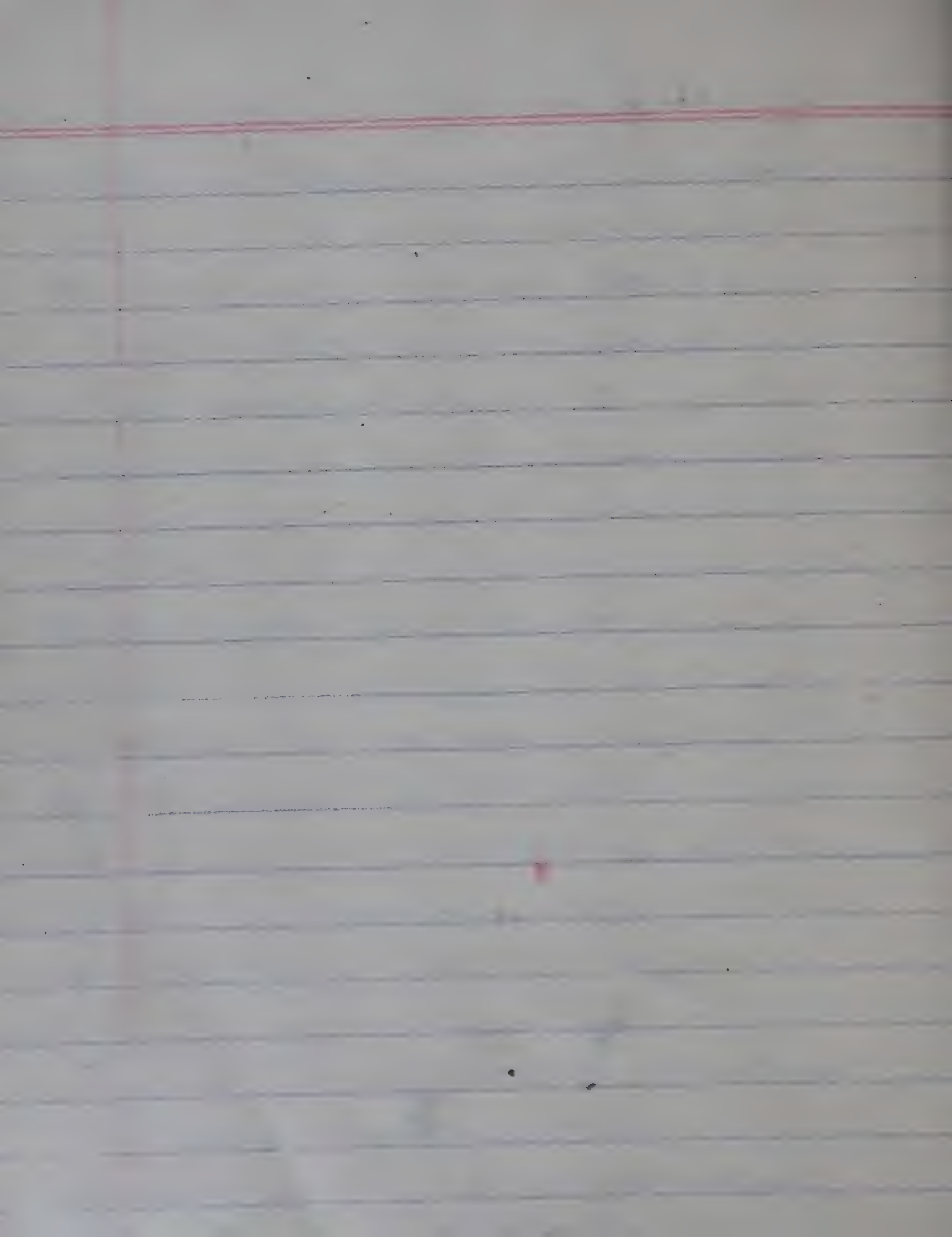
as creating, protecting and destroying the worlds.

Balarama is also worshipped in an alliterative
Complet in that very chapter 82 -

हली वली कली माली झूली जाली कली जली
बली बली बली बली सो मुसली वाभिरक्षतु ॥

but Kṛṣṇa, the younger brother not being referred to
is really intriguing. Perhaps this Saiva of the North
might have purposely omitted any reference to
the Southerner Kṛṣṇa who was just then coming into
prominence from the South. Bhaṣa, perhaps a gene-
ration later glorifies Him in the Īrūbhanga 35
as jagatām prīyat and dedicated the Bāla-canta
entirely to Him, while the Northerner Bhaṣata refers
to His various Vibhūti's or manifestations, studiously
avoiding reference to Him by name. All the verses
in the chapter on Metrics or ६३, द्वैविधिति glorify
only Śiva and not a verse refers to Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa.
He takes care to ask the actors to worship Brahma
and Śiva in the Pūrvāranga ceremony.

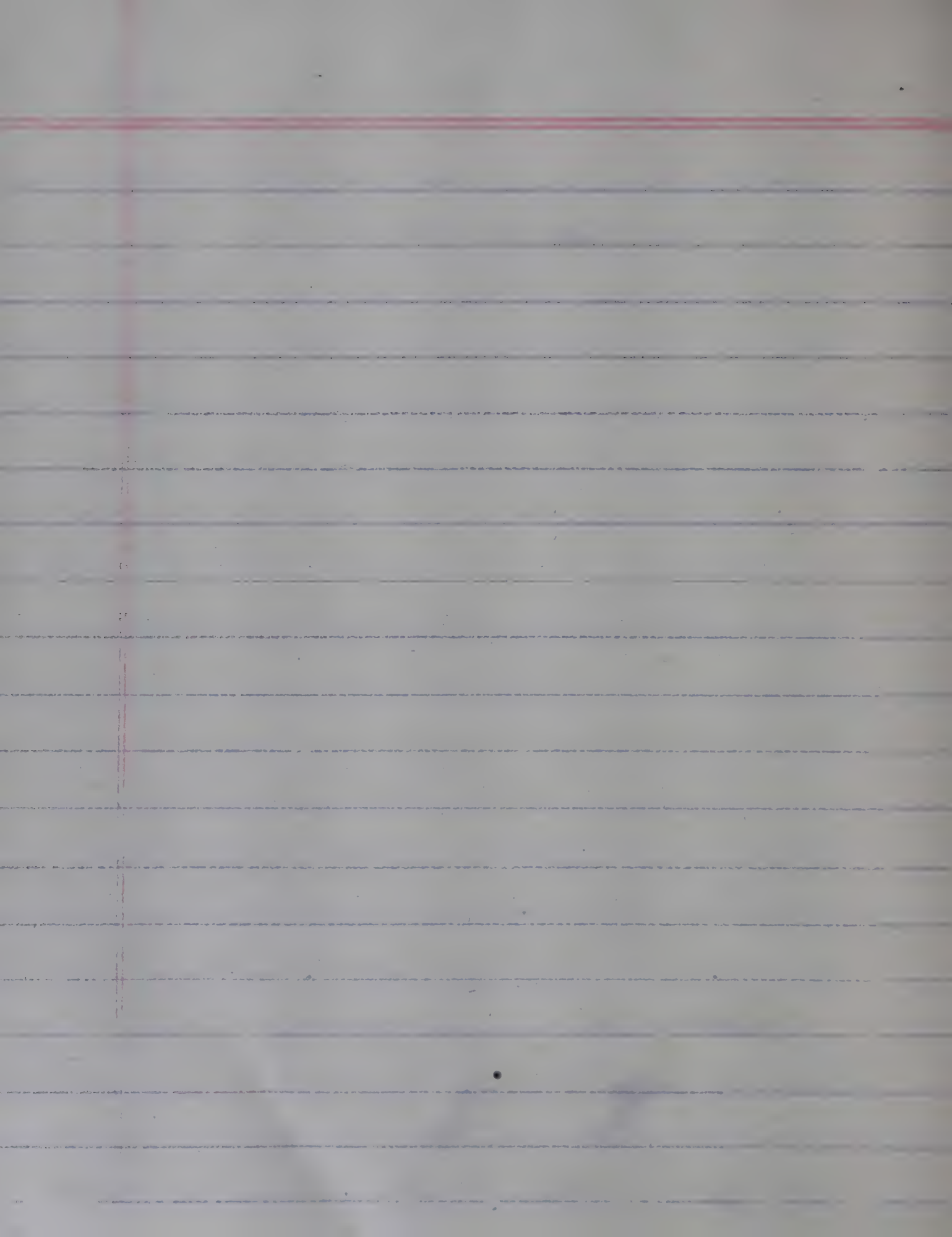
Possibly both flourished in 3rd cen B.C., Bhaṣata in the first
half in the North and Bhaṣa in the latter half in the South.



V chapter - Kautilya and Bhāsa.

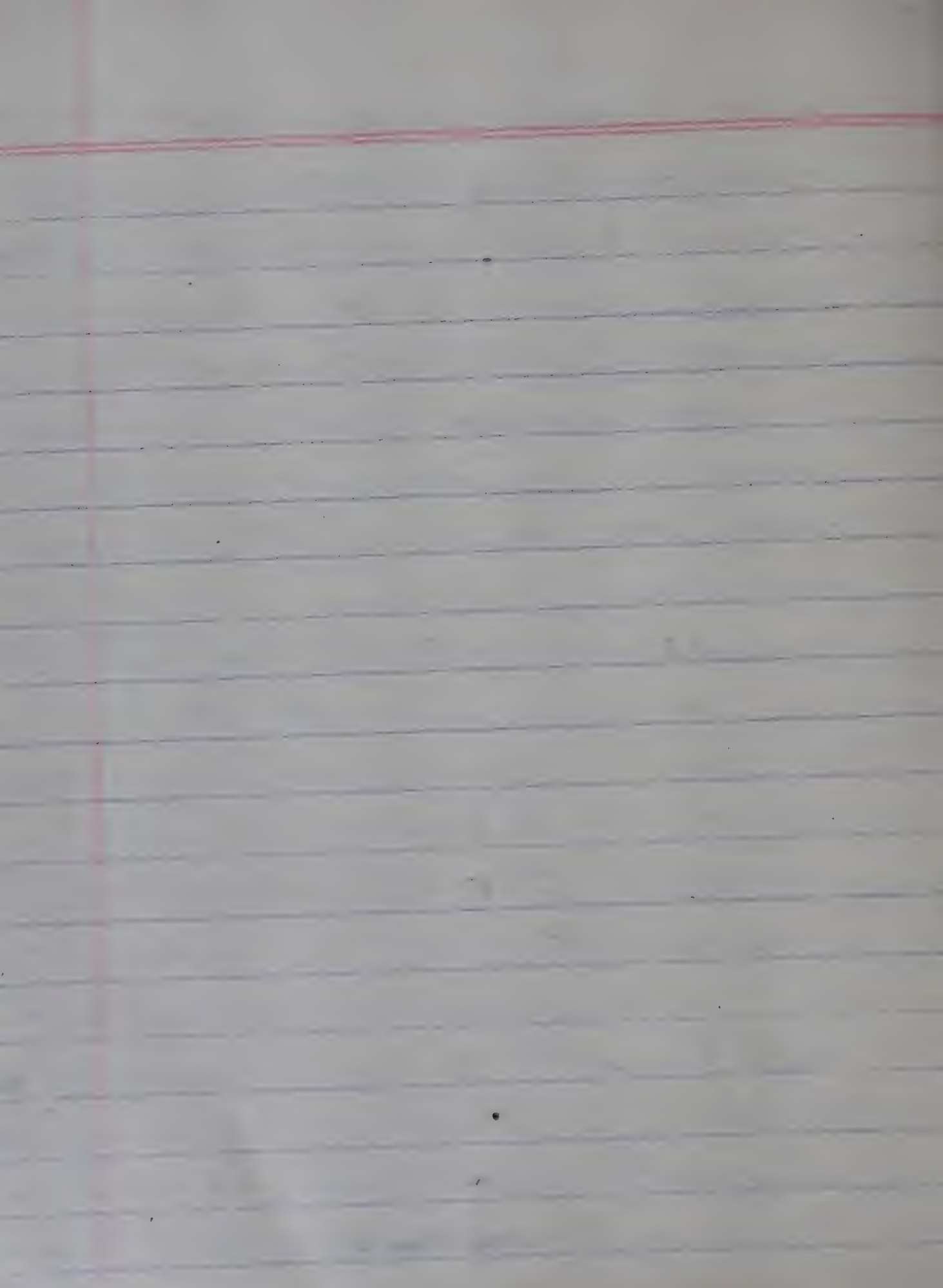
Though Kautilya was a writer on Arthśāstra, he is also revered almost as highly as the Ancient Smṛtikāras like Gaṇtama, Āpastamba, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Mēss. Bhāsa imbibed their ideas fully and even reflected their ideas and style, more particularly that of Kautilya. He seems to have lived in this very period, soon after Gaṇtama and Āpastamba (of about the 5th Cen B.C.) and Kautilya (of the 3rd Cen B.C.); Manu and Yājñavalkya might have come chronologically after them somewhere in the beginning of the Christian Era.

Perhaps just then, these Dharmasāstra writers insisted on the social rules of prostration by youngsters before the elders who had necessarily to pronounce a blessing in return. Any social custom, if introduced for the very first time, particularly among a simple and Godfearing people, becomes extremely popular soon (though a reaction naturally sets in after some time). Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya I Āmika refers to the way



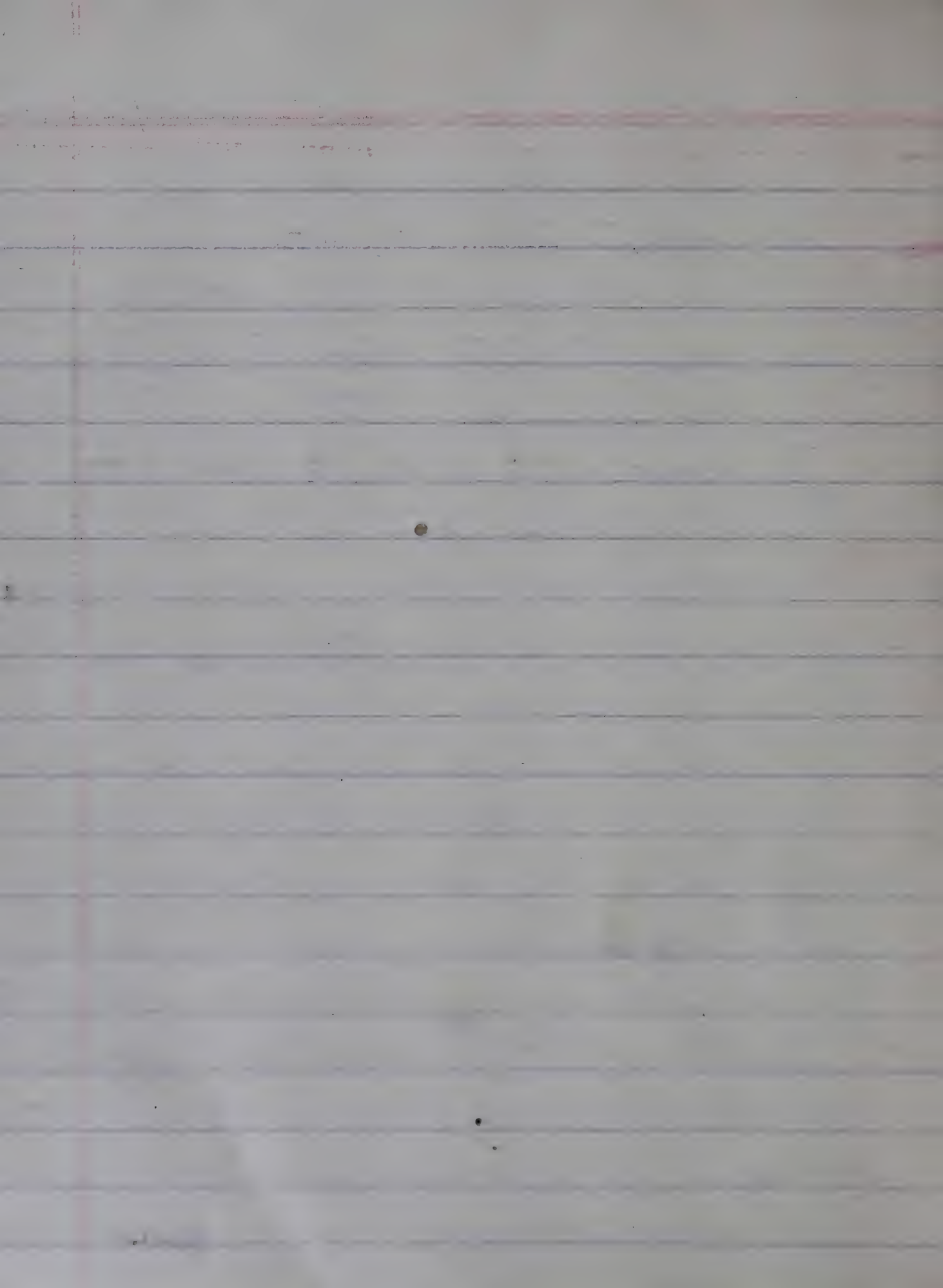
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in which people who did not know how to bless properly on being prostrated to were ridiculed as being women (illiterate). In these dramas of Bhāsa, we see the persistence of this blessing soon after prostration. For example, in the *Dūtāghatot Kachā*, after Alhimanyu's death, the supremely happy Drupad and others, exulting over their success, come and prostrate before their blind father; but the latter, who has just heard Arjuna's terrible vow, purposely keeps mum and the juniors are terribly perturbed and the father, with tears trickling down his eyes, replies 'When one daughter, better than even the 100 sons, is doomed to be a widow through the fault of sons, how can the blessing be of any value?—

सुता पुत्रशतानि शिला । स वै सुतानां भवतां प्रमादात् वैधव्यं
अस्माद्यमवाप्स्यति इति ॥ (p. 464 *Sevadhar*). Similarly in the *Karmabhāra*, Indra comes disguised as a Brahmin before Karna, with the definite purpose of depriving the latter of his earrings and armour so that Arjuna might easily kill him. Karna prostrates and Indra pronounces the usual benediction, the very purpose for



which he has come would be frustrated. Though non-plussed for a second, Indra cleverly pronounces the benediction on the यशः काय or the body of fame of Kama, though not on his mortal physical body. He says 'May your fame last as long as the Sun, the moon, Himavān and the oceans!' - सूर्य इव, रन्द्र इव, हिमवान् इव, सागर इव तिष्ठतु ते यशः - (1486).

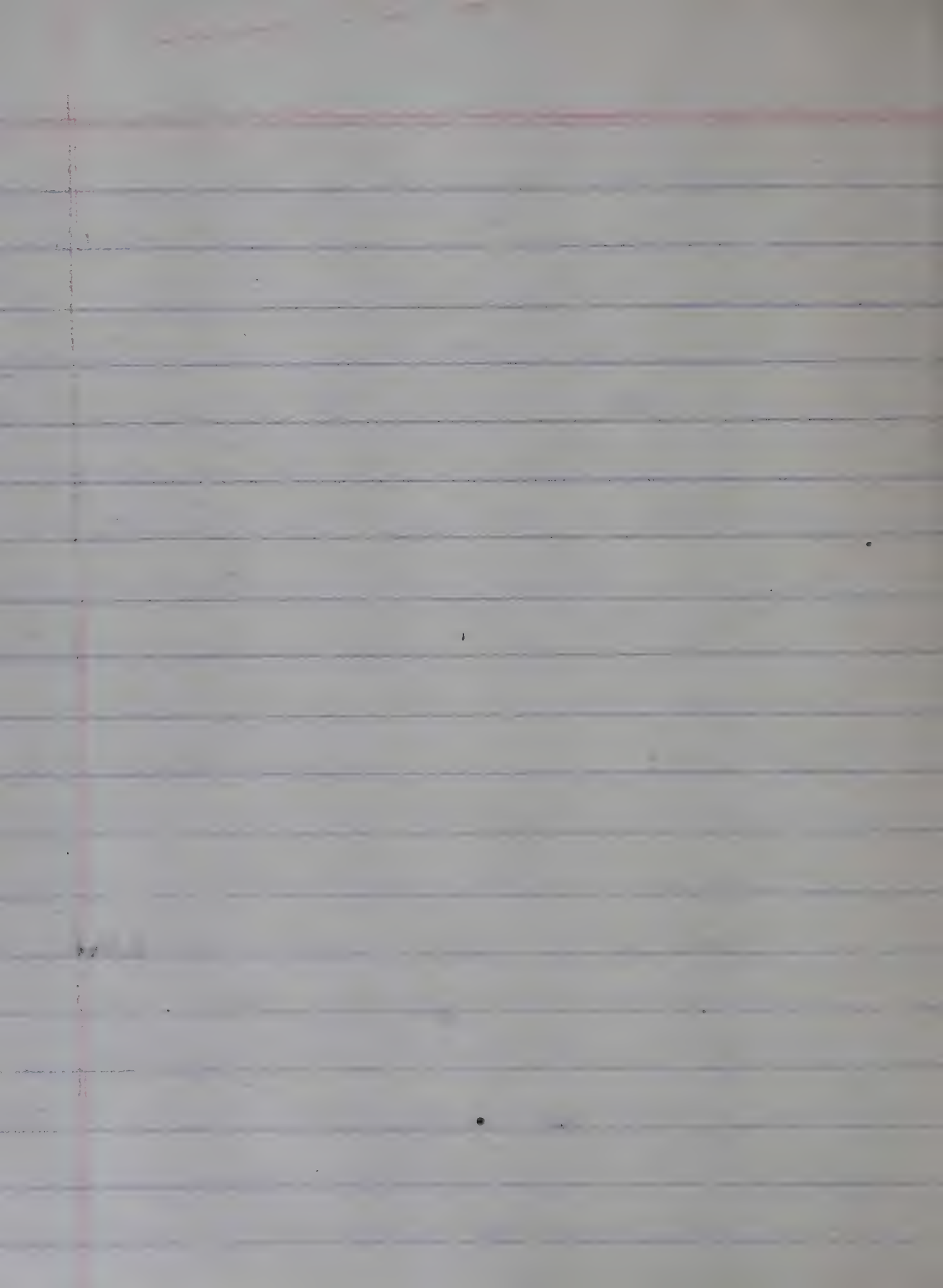
Similarly, soon after an impure act, like sneezing or weeping, or after touching unclean things like a corpse, Suddhācamana or holy sipping of the water is enjoined in the Dharmasāstras and this is strictly followed in all the required places in these dramas, Pañcharātra, Bātākārita, Brāhmācārin. In the Duryodhana insults Krishna in the Dūtāka calling him abhāṣya. This last word reminds one of the Sūtra of Gautama - न क्लेशाद्भुजधार्मिकैः सह संभाषेत संभाष्य वा पुण्यकृते मनसा ध्यायेत्, प्रादुर्भावेन वा संभाषेत. Krishna had killed the Mlecchas, asūkas or impure rākshasas, and particularly Pūtana, horses, elephants and restless which are specially prohibited



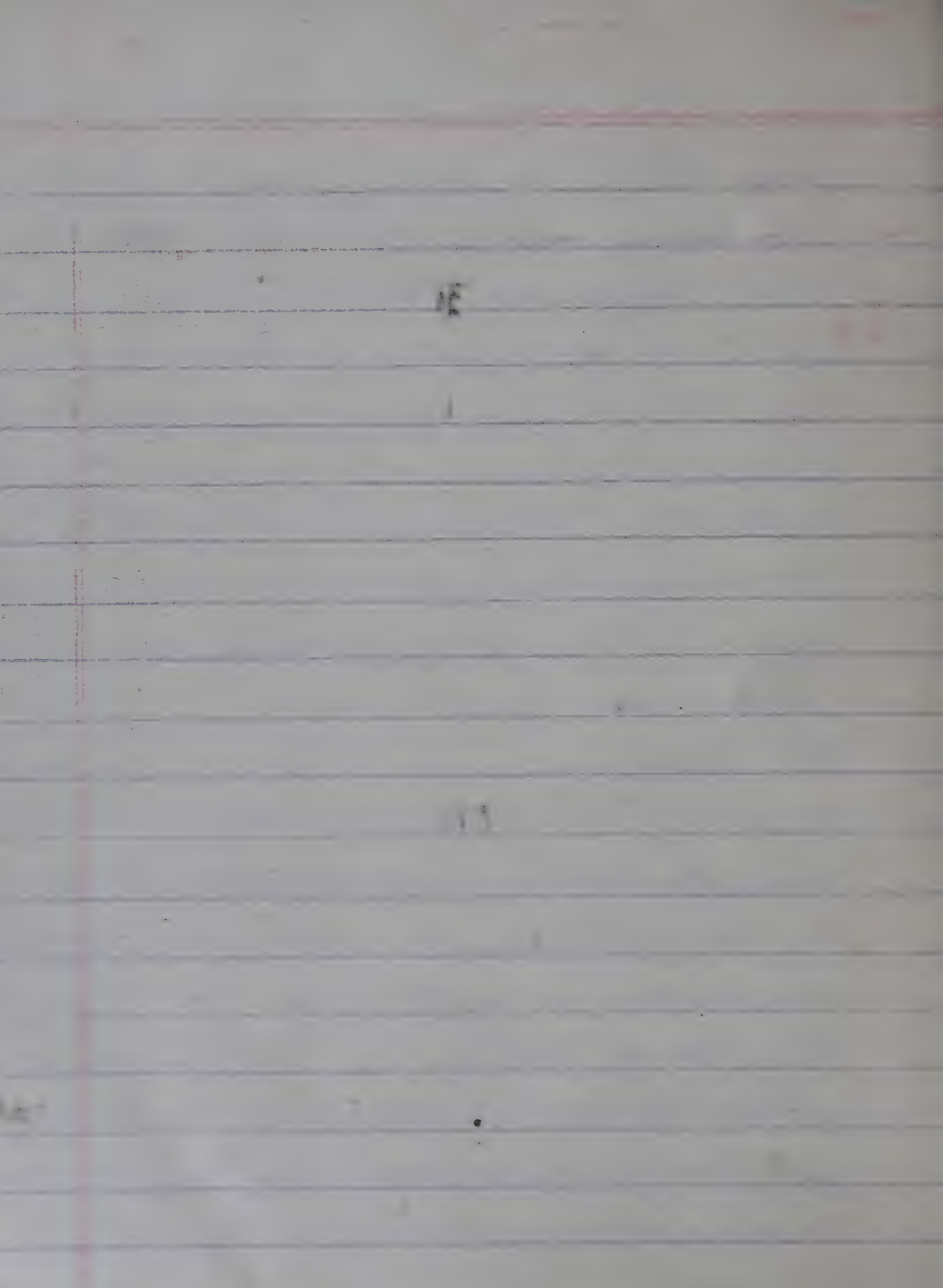
in the Dharmasāstra and the particular word सं + भाष used by both Gautama and Bhāṣa is significant. Similarly if we remember Vāli cohabiting with his younger brother's wife - a mahāpātaka or heinous sin according to Dharmasāstra, we must remember

ज्येष्ठो यवीयसो भार्यो यवीयान् वाग्रजस्त्रियम्
पतिर्हो भवतो गत्वा नियुक्तावप्यनापदि ॥ Manu

In the same way, when Sajjalaka starts even his nefarious stealing, he must start with the इष्टुष्टाचम and worship of the relevant gods (p. 141). The treatise on theft is by one Kharapata (whose name is spelt with a double t. in Kautilya p. 219 Mysore 1914). Bāṇa also refers to him as one of the foremost of thieves. Sāmbara and Mahākāla (worshipped by Arimaraṇa) appear to be the specialists in the art of the thief. As if such references to Dharmasāstra were not enough, Bhāṣa uses other words in the particular sense in which they would be used in administration of justice in a court. The word dhanika which usually means a rich man



is used in the extraordinary sense of a creditor; the word सन्निहित denotes a greedy miser, a sense which is completely uncurrent nowadays. (Pancharātra I. 22). We have another word श्रुतिरिक्त in Pratinā T. 10 and the sense is that enjoined in the Dharmasāstras, wife. The religious sanctity of the trust property is another thing known only to the pre-Christian writers like Bhāsa or Kālidāsa. This peculiar word श्रुति is dealt with only in pre-Christian Smṛiti writers like Gautama, Kautilya, and also by the contemporary Greek historians like Megasthenes. This last historian refers to the way in which Indians have no litigation ~~on~~ account of such trust properties, evidently because such properties were highly revered by both parties. These did not require any witnesses, nor were they sealed. Slaves were not also found in the Hindu society of the times as Kautilya remarks - श्रुति श्रुति दत्तम्. And Āpastamba (II. 6. 13. 10. 11) also prohibits the slavery of the wife, daughter or a son. Madhyama Vyāsa 18th Verse referring to 'Pratma



Vādins' might have such Smṛtikāras in view. Nārada

in his Smṛti III 12 says - यौरेः दूतं तले मग्नं आग्निना दग्धमेव

न दद्याद्यदि तस्मात्स न संहसति किञ्चन ॥ This can definite

make us think that if Bhasa had flourished after him

his ~~Harudatta~~ could easily take shelter under this

protecting clause and could have saved his prestige

by simply proclaiming that the prostitute's jewels were

stolen away. Evidently with the advent of the Kali Yuga

which we believe, is almost coeval with the beginning of

the Christian Era, this 'trust-property' pledging almost

dropped out of use. Tell Men, there seems to have existed

separate law courts even where such properties could

necessary be redeemed and restituted to the original

or rightful owner. To come to our pertinent case, if,

for example Kaikeyi ^{had} applied to such a court praying

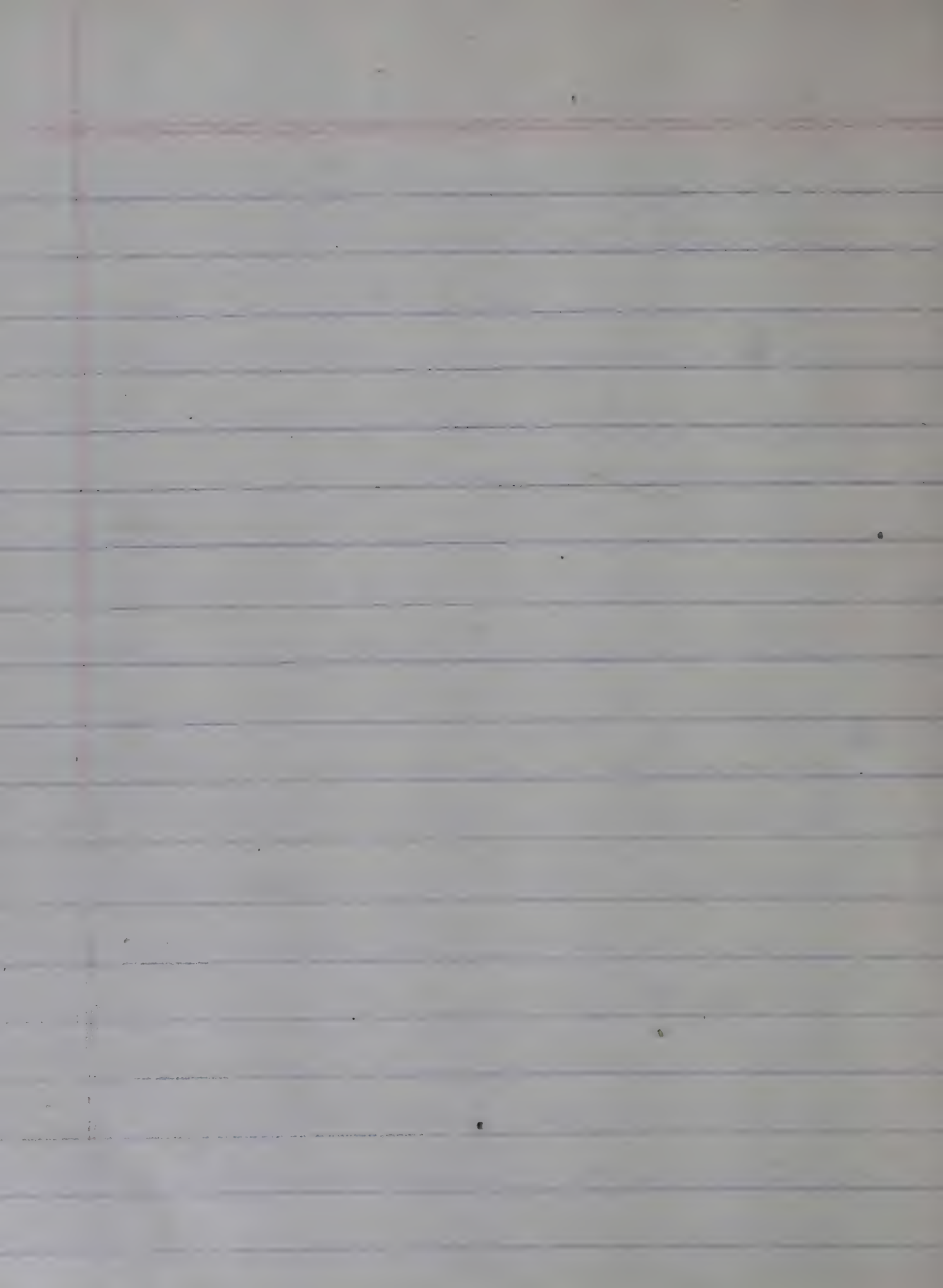
that the Kingdom was hers as it had been promised

to her at the time of the marriage, such special

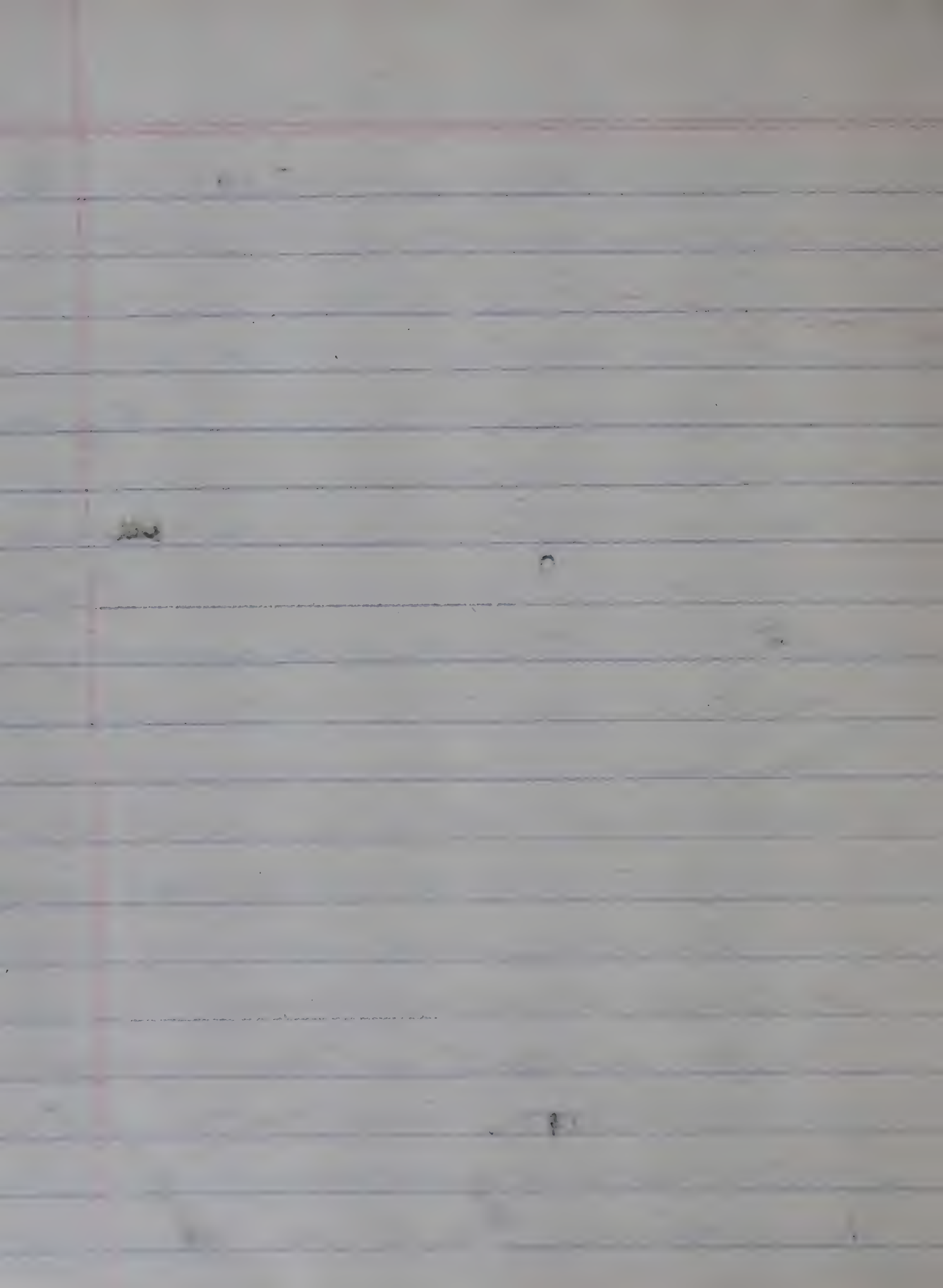
courts could even ex parte decide in her favour

and Dasaratha would have had to meekly submit

Kalidasa refers to this practice only twice & thrice and we



are led to infer that the importance of such pledges was slowly disappearing. But Bhasa starts his Chāṇḍaḍḍa and Śvapnavasavadatta with these 'pledged properties' and even in the Pratimā, this pledging is one of the most important episodes. In Kautilya and Bhasa, this redeeming of the trust property is essential; Kautilya refers to the witnesses in whose presence his redeeming is to be done as ३४५६७८: or eye witnesses Sam ear witnesses and Bhasa in Pratimā characterises them as १२३४५६७८९०: In the formal presence of such accredited custodians of the traditions of the Rāghurace like Vasistha, Vāmadeva, and Sumantra and with their fullest approval, the Kingdom is offered back to Rama and Kaikeyi vindicates herself. Such trust property did not carry any interest and even if it was demanded at midnight, it had to be surrendered without demur. When they were pledged and taken back, they had to be attested by ^{persons who were} १२३४५६७८९०: (= trusted) ३४५६७८: (= honest) and ३४५६७८: (= approved by both parties) according to Kautilya. In the Śvapna drama also, when the pledged property namely



Vasavadatta in disguise is redeemed, Udayana says
 साक्षिमन्पासो निर्मातृपितृव्यः reminding us of Kautilya III.1.1
 साक्षिमत् अश्नन् कुर्यात्. It so happens (in the drama) that
 such attestors are the Kandalukin and the Dhātṛi, who
 have nursed Vasavadatta from her infancy (who had come
 with a sorrowful message from Queen Angiravati) and their
 findings convert the tragedy into a comedy!

Baudhāyana, Gautama (prior to Kautilya), and
 Manu among the Smṛtikāras rank the Kṣetrajaputra
 second among the twelve kinds of sons, but Kautilya
 puts the putrikāputra (daughter's son) second and pushes
 the Kṣetraja to the third place. Bhasa follows Kautilya's
 lead and even imitates his language when he makes
 Duryodhana question the legality of the birth of the Pandas,
 calling them parātmajas, or sons of others (and not of his
 uncle Pāṇḍu). Kautilya in the context contrasts स्वयंजात or
 legitimate son with parajāta or Kṣetraja - स्वयंजातः
 कृतक्रियामां (= in the wedded wife) औरसः, तेन तुल्यः पुत्रिकापुत्रः,
 स्वगोत्रेण अन्यगोत्रेण वा नियुक्तेन (= specially appointed for
 raising a progeny) क्षेत्रजातः क्षेत्रजः पुत्रः... स्वयंजातः.

पितृवश्यं च दद्यादः, परजातः संस्कर्तुः एव न वंशधूनाम्. Bhāsa

seems to paraphrase this when he says:

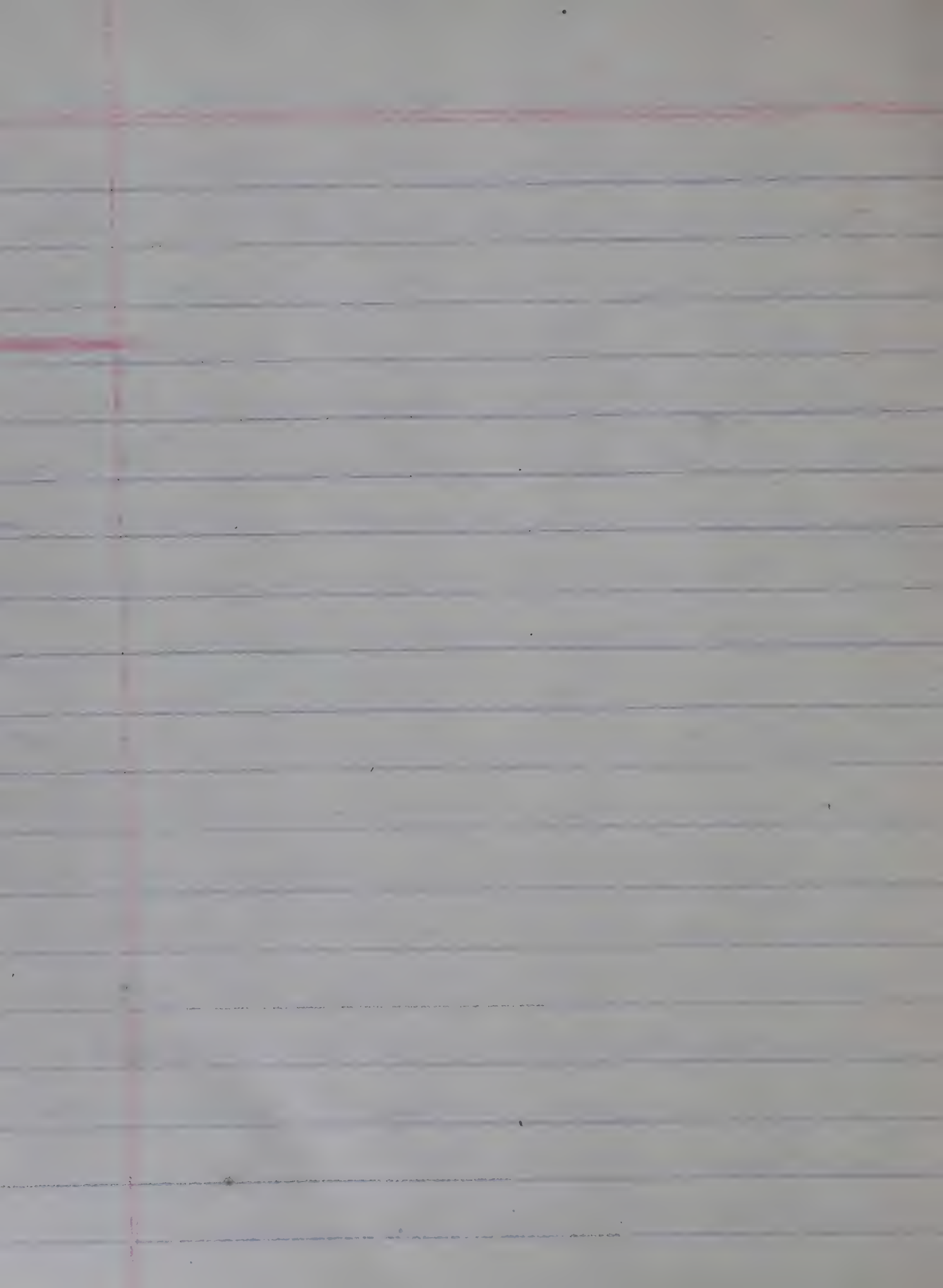
धर्मात्मनो वायुस्तुतश्च भीमो भ्रातार्जुनो मे त्रिदशेन्द्ररत्नः ।

यस्यै च तव श्वेसुतो विनीतो सर्वे स भृत्याः कुरालेपपन्नाः ॥ Here

the insinuation is according to Kautilya's text, that the Pāṇḍavas are परजात, born of the respective gods, and so they are the dāyādas or inheritors of the paternal estates of the gods only; Duryodhana even insists that they should not perform Shrāddhas for his uncle Pāṇḍu. Dharma-sāstra Kars who came after, viz, Hārita, Varisṭha, Viṣṇu, Nārada and Manu assign the second place to the पुत्र, but following Kautilya's lead, Yājñavalkya and Devaala push him to the third place, putting putrikāputra there. Bhāsa follows this stand ~~for~~ going in Duryodhana's mouth: देवात्मजैः मनुष्याणां ^{कथं की} वंशधूता भवेत् - Artaśākya 30; This particular argument was so formidable that even Manu a little later was forced to roundly condemn niyoga in IX. 64. Here Bhāsa's word वंशधूता is a technical word legally referring to fitness for offering obsequial libations and pindas. It is again interesting to note that Duryodhana

who argued thus for argument's sake under the advice of his cunning advocate generals Śākuni, Karna, and the rest, says after their death in the Ūrubhanga, with his thighs broken to his son Durjaya 'दृष्ट्वा तैव पुत्रिष्ठिरस्य विपुलं क्षौमापसव्यं भुजं । देयं पाण्डुसुतेस्त्वयाममसमं नामात्रसने जलम् ॥' This is practically confessing that ^{i.e. Kṣetrajñ son} they had not lost their pitṛ tarpanādhikāra as yet, and it was only Brhaspati, who, sometime later, ^(after Bhāsa) put it in the statute book that the Kṣetrajñ son definitely could not perform obsequial offerings.

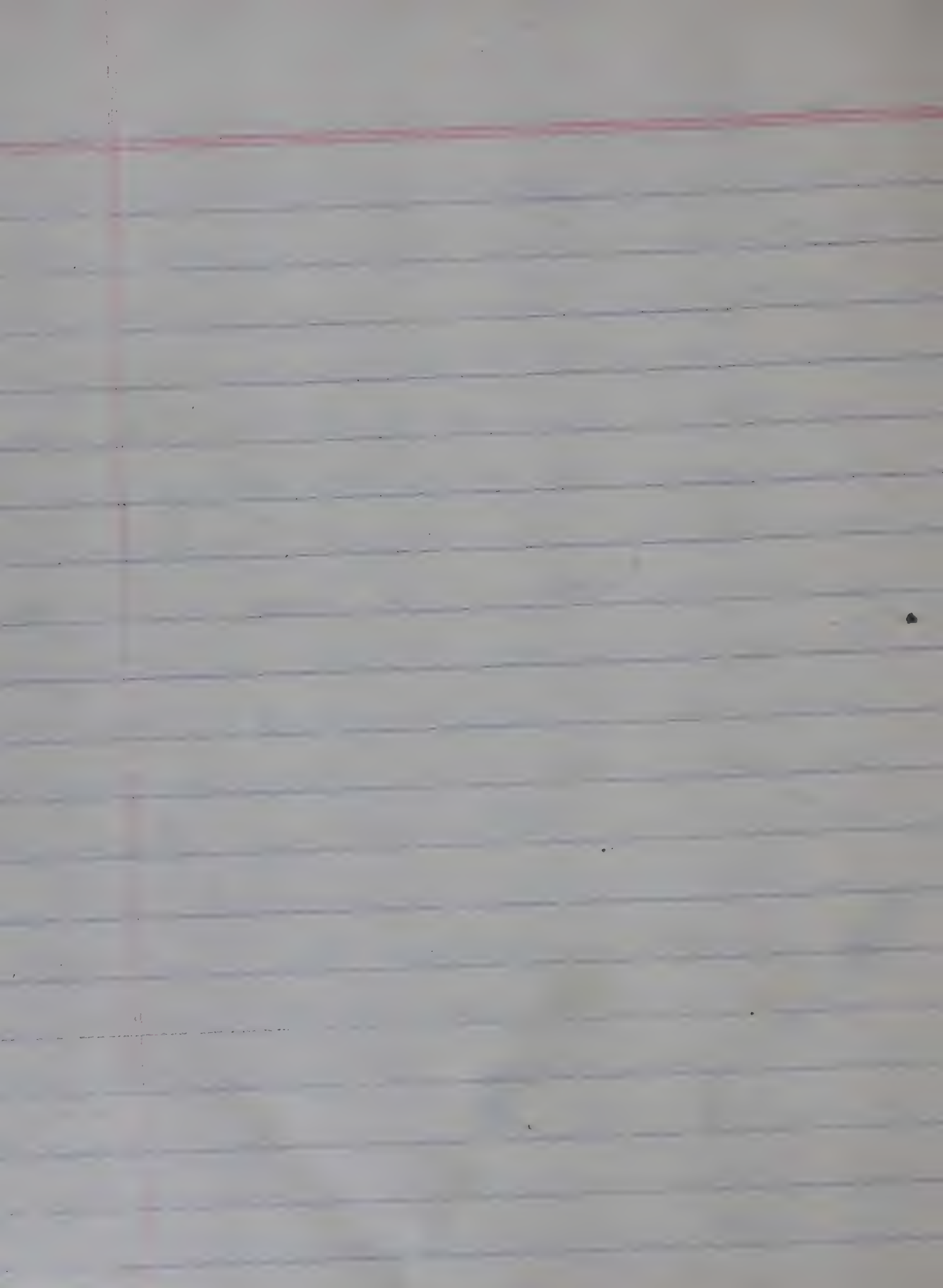
The 16th Verse in Dūtashatotkaṣa - दूताशत
शतादिशिष्टा - praising the daughter as being better than even 100 sons - seems to remind us of Yāska's Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa III.3 where he refers to दूहिता दूताः, daughters who could inherit paternal property. Yāska, in the 7th or 8th C. B.C., could legally refer to such daughters who had not lost their ~~अधिकार~~ or fitness to perform obsequial libations. The later Smṛti Kāṇḍas like Manus round about the beginning of the Christian Era, or rather, more correctly, their interpretation like



the writers of lawdigests like Vijnanesvara, normally
 declare that the daughter could not perform these cere-
 monies for the father. But in Bhase's time, the woman
 could inherit her father's property, could possess
 independently of her husband large estates or treasures,
 as Bhārudatta's wife could own the invaluable pearl
 necklace costing millions when her husband had
 practically been adjudged insolvent. The 17th Verse in that
 drama makes a pertinent statement - अर्थतः गृहे
 नारी यानारी सार्धतः पुमान् - that a woman could in
 effect become a man with her large wealth. Simi-
 larly, the 5th Verse of the Pratinā goes a step further
 in declaring that the woman had not as yet been
 clubbed with the Śūdra in the matter of being denied
 religious rites - वर्तकस्तु शूद्राः एतत् अस्माकं देवतः
 This last bit is very important, the Śūdra could not
 recite mantras while offering worship - his priests
 will have to do it for him; while a woman could
 easily do so by herself. This is practically the Vedic
 social custom according to which a woman also had

her 'upanayana' initiation for Vedic studies, exact like men. (cp पुराकल्पे तु ऋषीणां मौ डीवमनमिषे). Even in the 7th cen A.D. Bāṇa's महाश्वेता was यज्ञोपवीत-पवित्रीकृतकाया). So it is undoubted that in Bhāsa's time, women could own considerable properties, and perform spiritual or religious rites without any hindrance or even association with men as now. Even prostitutes like Hidimbā and Vasantasenā were taught moral ways of life. If ~~on~~ one or two occasions Kaikeyi or Sītā behaved rather unworthily, Bhāsa cleverly introduces slight deviations and paints their characters as ideal women. Just as the women in the śrīparva of the Mahābhārata perform śrāpanas or obsequial offerings to their husbands in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, and performed their daily prayers, so also in Bhāsa, they participated in such religious functions; Dharmasāstrins had not prohibited them at all.

Now let us consider the word 'madhyama'. It has become a fashion to say that the story of the Madhyama Vyāyoga was inspired by the



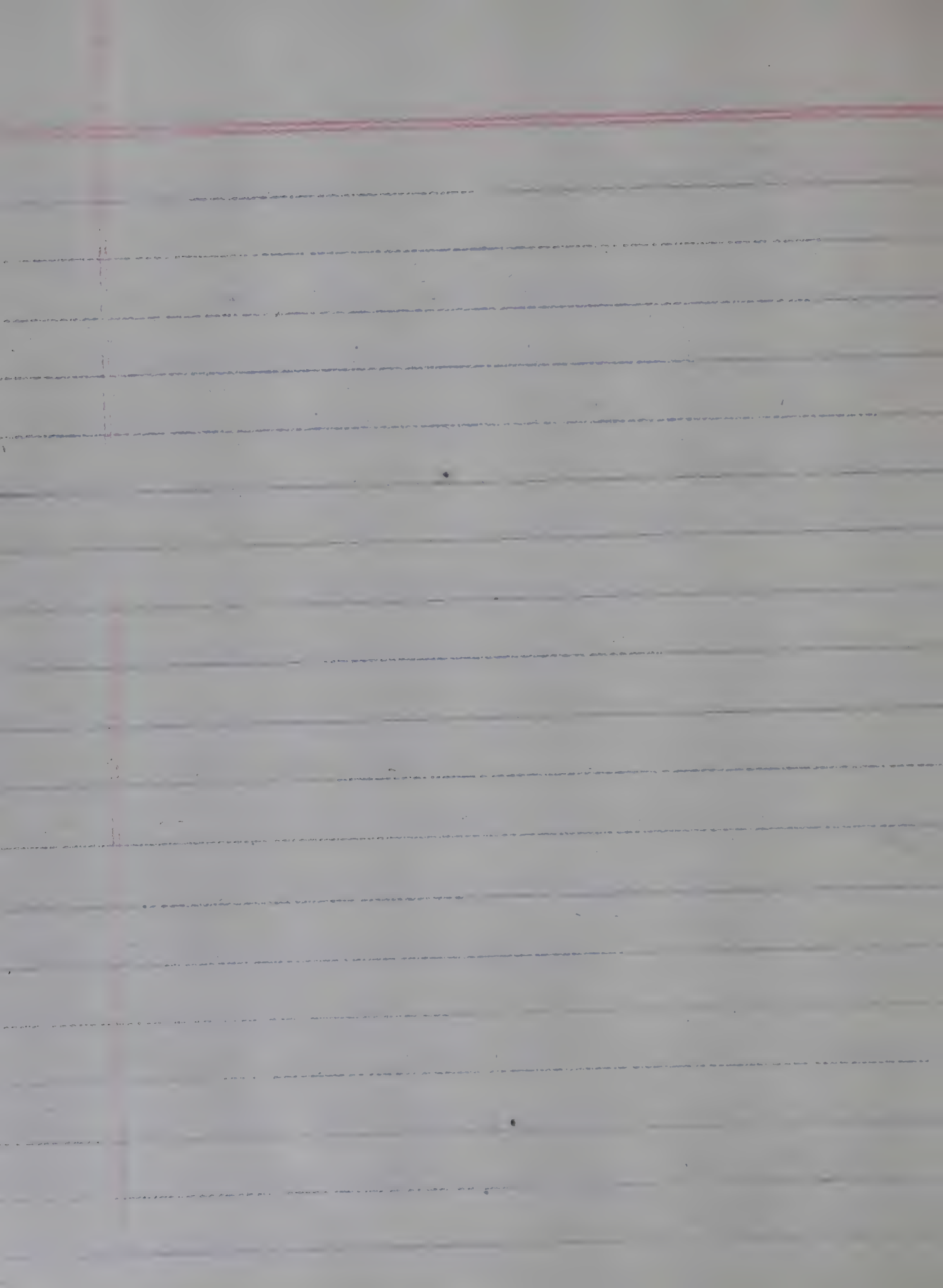
story of Śrinas'ēpa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
 But the fact seems to be different. Gautāma (500 B.C.)
 in his Dharmasūtra had legislated that the middle
 son should receive blind or one-eyed bulls, tail-
 less bulls, old bulls and similar unwanted
 furniture only after the eldest and youngest
 had chosen stronger bulls and furniture.
 To remove this injustice to him by spotlighting
 it as it were, we wish to urge, Bhāsa wrote
 his drama, more or less in the way in which
 a modern writer might ridicule the dowry
 system by holding up to public gaze its
 evil effects. Let me quote the context fully
 to prove my point: ऊर्ध्वं पितुः पुत्राः त्रिवर्षं
 भोजेन, निवृत्तं राजारि मातुः, जीवति वाइशति.
 सर्वं वा पूर्वजस्य, इतरान् विभ्रयात् पितृवत्.
 विभागे तु धर्मवृद्धिः । विंशतिभागे ज्येष्ठस्य,
 मिथुनमुद्रायतो द्युसो। ररा. गोवृषः, अयं
 अक्षरः ज्येष्ठस्य, मिथुनं गोमिथुनम्, उभयतो
 दत्तः अस्मात्तरमादितः तर्क मया संभवं अन्य-

नमानो मुक्तः रथः गोवृषश्च। काण खोर कुटवष्टः।

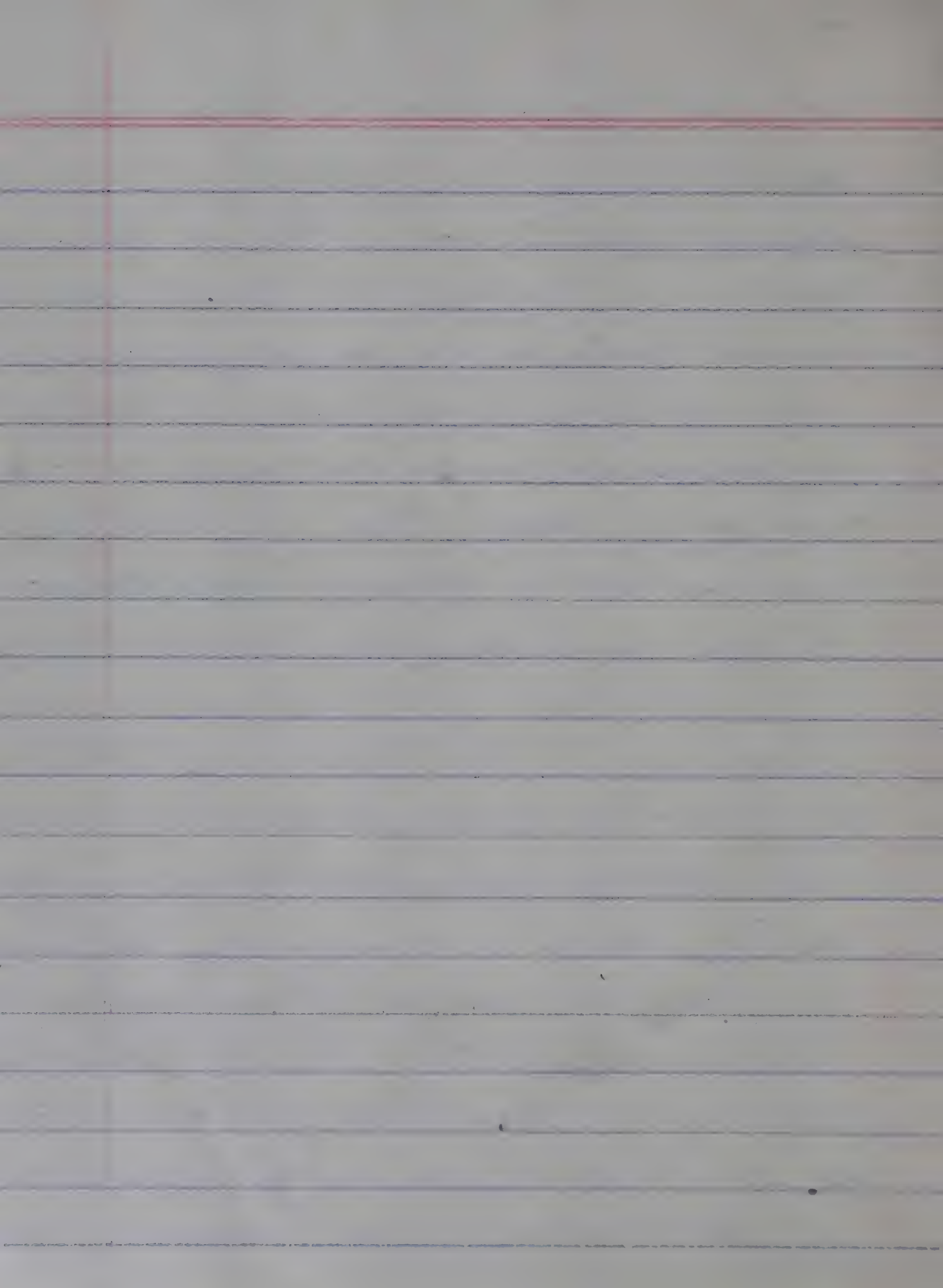
^{Gautama 2.8.1-3}
 मधुमस्य अनेकोः जेह ॥ The Commentator explains
 the underlined words which only are important
 from our point of view - काण = one-eyed; खोर =
 old (खोटे (another reading = wanting in one leg).
 कुट = hornless, वष्ट = tailless. He also adds that
 these also might refer to cows, horses, mules or
 asses as might have been owned by the father.
 The rest of the Commentary goes on in the same
 strain but enough has been quoted. To explain
 the relevant points at issue; one view is that the
 eldest should receive the entire patrimony after the
 father's death, he alone being directed to maintain
 the younger brothers like a father. According to
 another view, however, the eldest should receive
 a $1/20$ share in excess over the younger ones
 perhaps in consideration of his catering to the
 spiritual family obsequies relating to the dead
 in the family. In the latter case, the eldest was
 directed to choose the very best among the horses,

axe, etc; the next best would have to be then selected as his share by the youngest; after these two had selected their portions, the middle one had naturally to satisfy himself with one-eyed, old, legless (or wanting in a leg), tailless, or hornless animals and similarly defective furniture like tables and chairs. The reason is not far to seek: the eldest and the youngest catered fully to the obsequial rites and the 'madhyama' had simply to look on and so it was quite obvious that he should receive lesser share in his father's property. Kautilya (3rd cen B.C.) also followed this lead when he declared III. 6. कर्त्तव्यं तु ॥ मध्यमांशः ^{broken} that the madhyama's share related only to things (or rather 'blind' animals to be more precise). Bhara also in the context has referred to the current Dharma sastra view when saying वे ४: पित्रसमः. The father in (spiritual) difficulties is helped across by his eldest son. Similarly the mother's attachment is instinctively towards her youngest (or in some

cases towards the poorest of her sons). Bhāsa took
 advantage of this social injustice to the middle
 brother, unwanted by either of the parents. When
 thus the injustice was spotlighted, Yājñavalkya,
 the great Smṛiti writer soon afterwards (some time
 in the first century B.C.) removed it entirely out of
 the statute book by cancelling all preferences
 like पौर्ण (primogeniture - entire paternal estate
 for the eldest) or पौर्ण (extra $\frac{1}{20}$ share for eldest)
 and decreed that all the brothers do get an equal
 share of the paternal property. II.16 सर्वे वा सहः
 समं हि नः - or a bit later - विश्वजेन सुताः पित्रोः
 कर्तुं विवशं सन्तं समं हि - after the father's death,
 the sons should divide equally the assets
 and the liabilities. This preferential पौर्ण or
 primogeniture was also common in Rome
 and many other western countries. In the early
 epic period in Ancient India, this was the
 custom. Even now this survives in royal
 families for example where royalty is



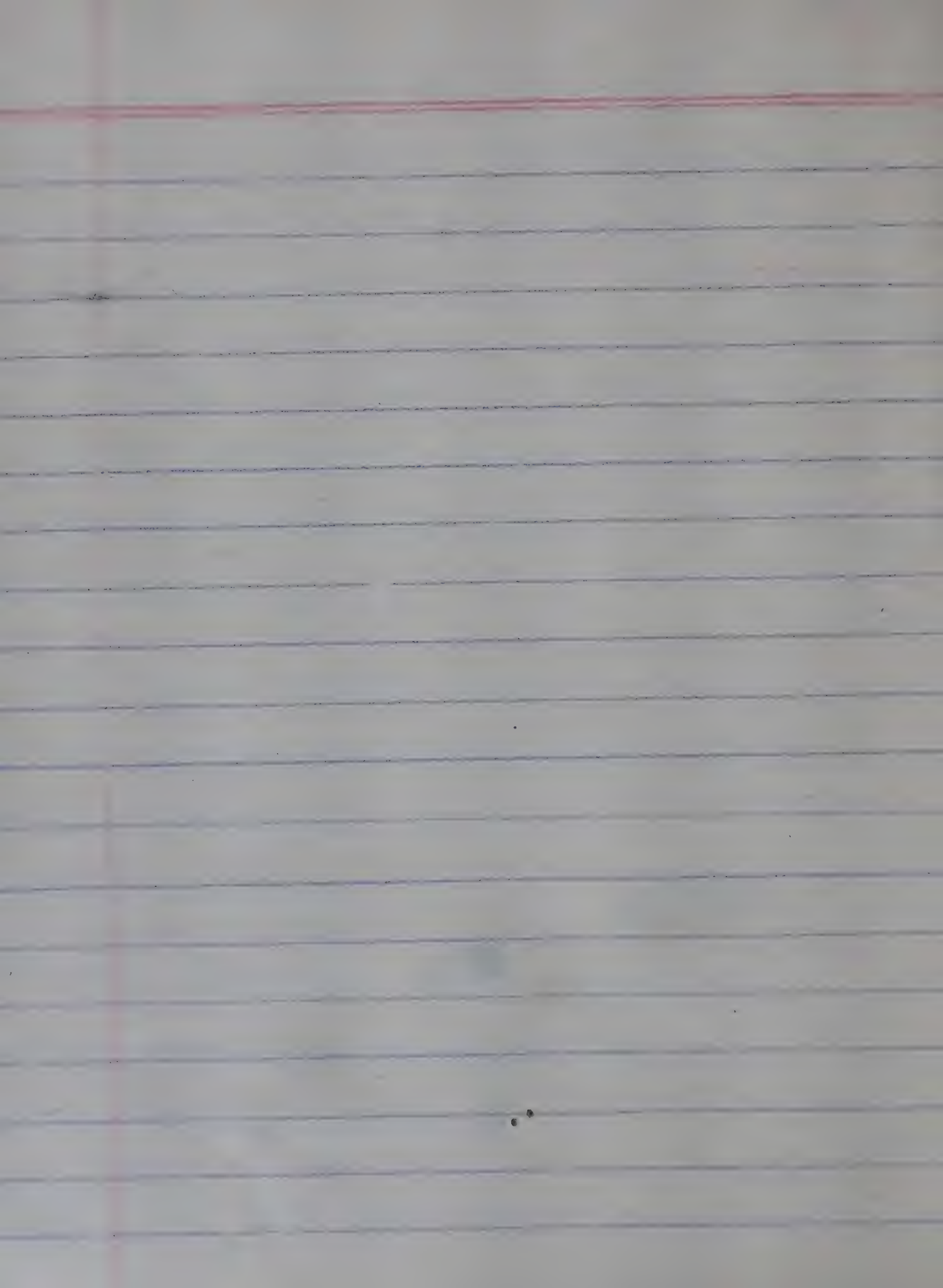
inherited by the eldest son alone. The original
 epic story was that Yudhishtira was the eldest
 of the 105 brothers and that Bhima and Duryodhana
 were born on the same day. Many a time, the epic
 reveals Dhritarāstra's anxiety to have his son's
 right to the throne, at least in succession to
 Yudhishtira's, established legally. He argues
 aloud, in season and out of season, that his
 son was born a few hours before Bhima. But
 Bhishma, with a successful stroke of his pen,
 manages to drive away all such anxieties
 fully from Dhritarāstra's mind. According to
 his deviation, Duryodhana alone is the eldest,
 even elder to Yudhishtira. He may not actually
 say this out in so many words, but this is clear
 from Bhishma's remark in Pañcharātra I. 37 -
मोक्षो भवान् प्रपञ्चिनः तद्यि ते कुटुम्बे etc, while
 addressing Duryodhana. Vyāsa's Bhishma
 had to find a wonderful explanation for
 his siding Duryodhana inasmuch as he had



eaten of his 'galt' - अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासः दामस्त्यर्थे न
 कस्यचित् । इति सत्यं महाराज तेन बद्धोऽस्मि कोरवः
 (43rd adhyāya, 43rd Sloka in Kumbakonam edn.)
 But Bhara's Bhishma could easily ~~that~~ put
 forth the Dharmasāstra excuse - Manus IX.105
 definitely allows the eldest to receive the entire
 patrimony - ज्येष्ठ त्वं तु गृह्णीयात् पितृमंथनं अशेषतः
 शेषाः तमुपजीवेयुः यथैव पितरं तया ॥ It was the
 fault really of Yudhishtira and his brothers if
 they chose to refuse the eldest brother's protection
 and go to the forest on their own responsibility. The
 contemporary Jātaka tales, for example reflect
 this social custom. In Corwell V p 326, we read
 a Pāli S'loka which when translated is as follows:

माता पिता च भ्राता च भ्रातृणी शास्त्रिबान्धवाः
 सर्वे ज्येष्ठस्य ते भाराः (त्वं जीजीहि भारता ॥

In other words, mother, father, brother, sister, cousin
 relations - all these are a deadweight to hang
 round the neck of the eldest. Taking his stand
 on this point, Shrirāstra calls his son the Lord



of 11+7 Akshauhinis, even the seven reinements
belonging to the Pandavas - अष्टादशाक्षौहिणी-
महाराज in the Urukhangra after the 40th Shloka
Manu had further decreed in IX 213 -

यो ज्येष्ठो विनिकुर्वीत सर्वात् भ्रातृन् यवीयसः

सोऽज्येष्ठः दद्यादभ्रातृभ्यः विनिमज्जत्यभ्रातृभिः

in other words, if the eldest deceived the younger
brothers, he would be deprived of these special
privileges, the Court should snatch away
from him his portions. Bhāsa echoes this
very idea in his Pratimā I. 14 where he
paraphrases the word विनिकुर्वीत by its syno-
nym - वञ्चित - न च खलु पारिभोगैर्विदिताः
भ्रातरौ मे, where Rama exhibits his eager-
ness not to deprive his younger brothers
of the minimum comforts they must be entitled to
daily. To come back to our main point, Duryo-
dhana is the eldest son of the senior brother
Dhritarashtra, senior even to Yudhishtira. As such
his right to the throne was legally unquestioned,

not understanding this secret, later dramatists like Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (and more particularly Rāma in his GAḌĀYUDDHA) try to enlist our sympathies in Duryodhana's favour, but fail in their attempt. Bhāṣa succeeds eminently.

ANUBANDHA.

This word refers to the Motive prompting the crime such as poverty and the like. Our Dharma-sāstrins, with their milk of human kindness, direct the judge to go fully into the motives that drove the culprit on to the crime before awarding punishment.

Kaṭyāyana in the 5th cen B.C. in his Sūtra XII

॥ १५९ ॥ क्रूरपरायितोऽपराधेनात्तदुपनिषोऽः

used this word for the very first time, asking the judge to take due stock of the offender's strength (or capacity to undergo the punishment), the loss resulting from the crime; the judge is even asked to ascertain the actual loss accruing to the offender's family because of the sentence passed on him also. Kaṭyāyana carried this idea a bit further when

69

he instructs the judge to ascertain the degree or otherwise of the crime, the big or small loss accruing therefrom, the time, place or the atmosphere in which it was committed

Light represents to Bacon all good things, enlightenment of every kind, both mental and spiritual; truth, virtue, knowledge, understanding, reason, and even the essence of God Himself, 'the father of illumination or light'. Light, to him, is clear and unbiassed judgment, 'dry light', not obscured by mist and humidity, and it is also the action of friendship which maketh daylight in the understanding' Bacon - Advancement of Learning

मृत्युर्भयस्तव मम गृहद्वारमागत्य दूरतः

अब्धेः जगत् उपतथति मे त्वत्समाह्वयवार्तम् ।

अब्धा रात्रिः, हृदयचक्रितं, दीपहस्तस्तथापि

० पात द्वारो गृहमुखागतं स्वागतेनार्चयिष्ये ॥

देवाशासे मम हृदयतश्चिह्नं दैव्यं समलम्

दद्याः शक्तिं सुखमसुखम् (यश्चामेतेषु व मोह, म,)

शक्तिं दद्या भृशमविकलं देव यस्याः सहायत्वं

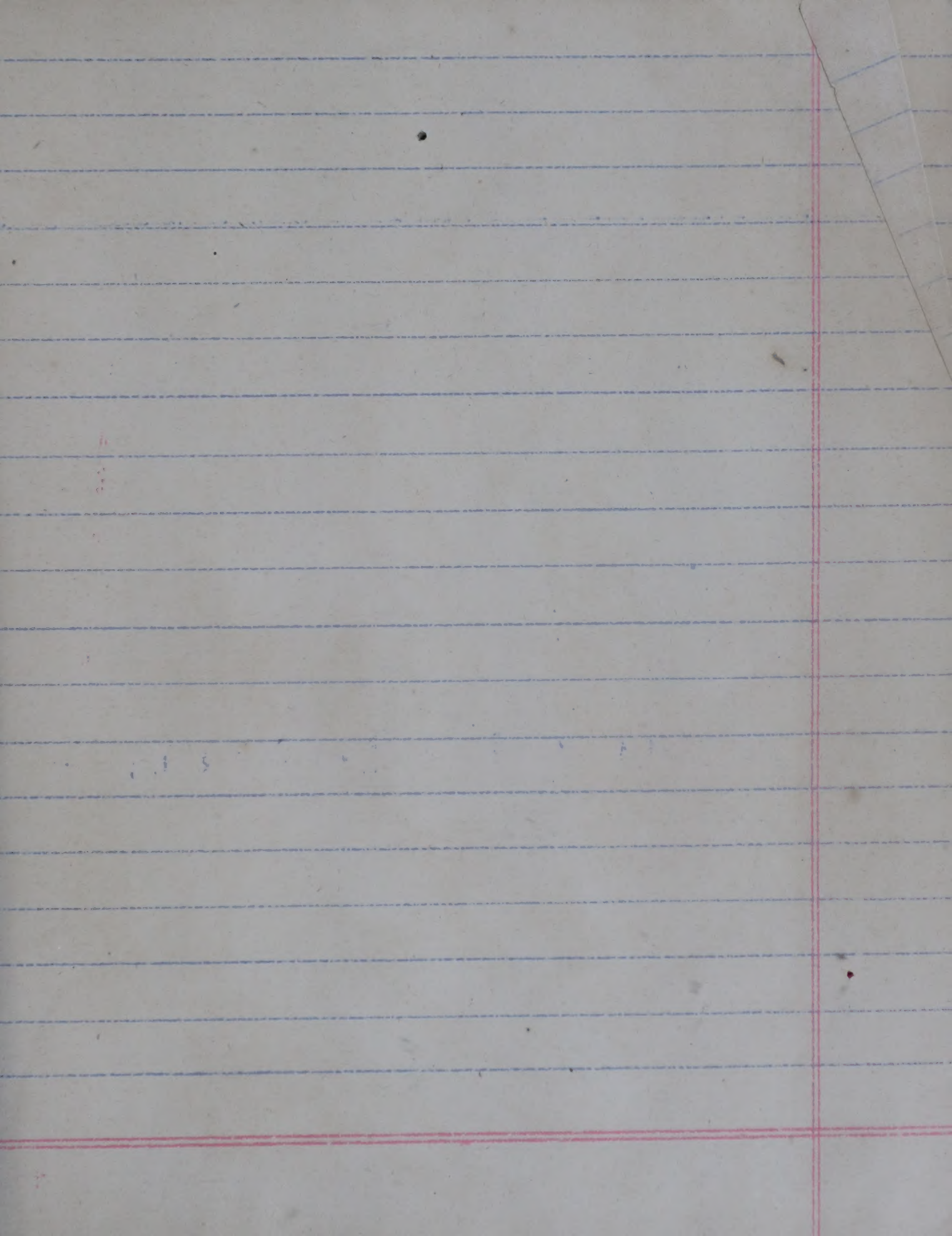
कुर्वन्नेवां जगति सततं सत्यं प्रेम कुर्यात् ॥

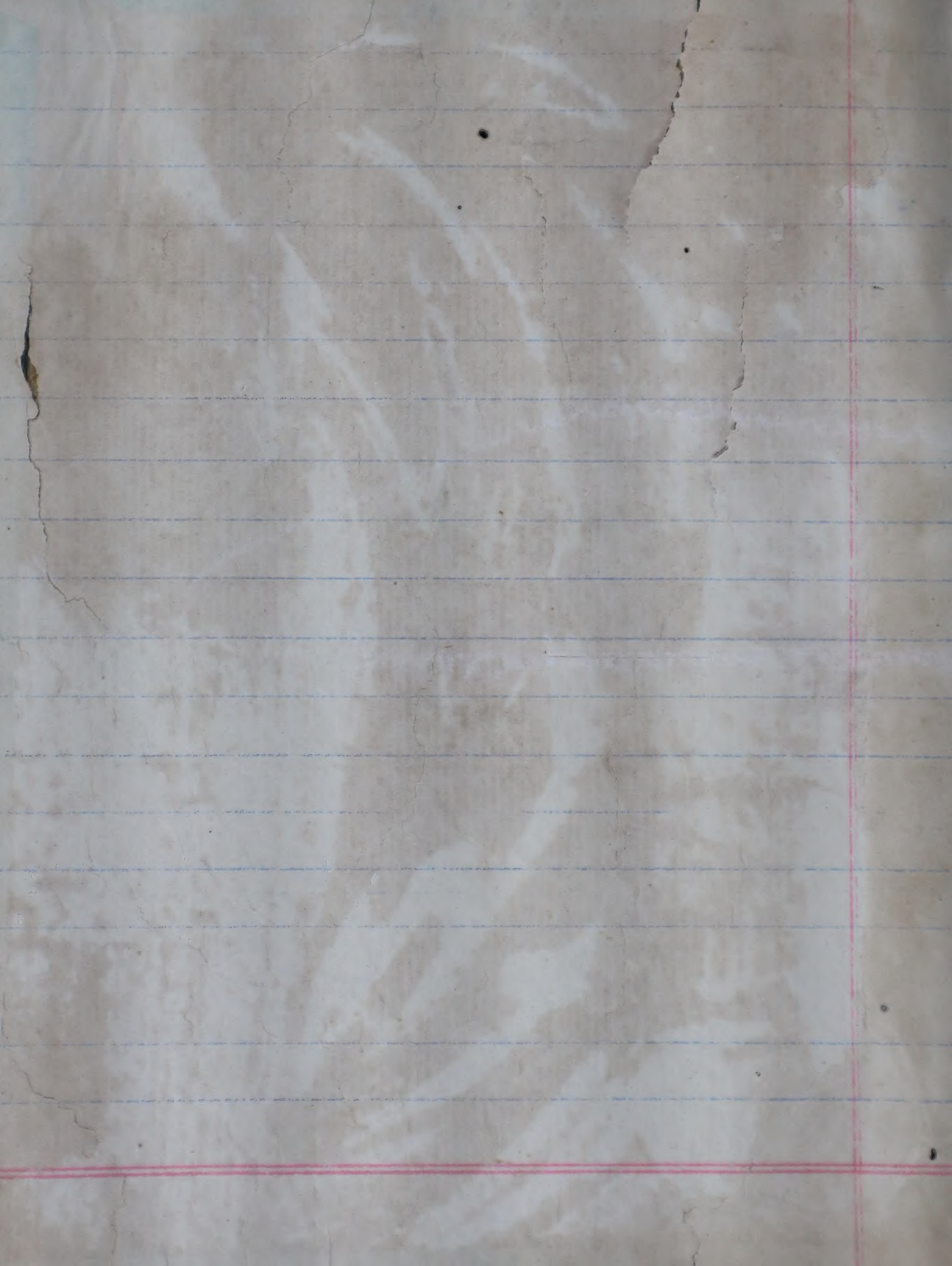
दद्याः शक्तिं धनविरहितो न्यद्रुमात्कीय बुद्ध्या

कर्तुं शीर्षे मम न नमितं चाग्रतो धृष्टशक्तेः ।

दद्याः शक्तिं मम भक्तिमतां हृदयदूरं विधातुम्

प्रेम्णा मम तव वशं कर्तुमाद्योहि शक्तिम् ।





Brahmavaiṣṇava Purāṇa I. 5 - राधा's आविर्भाव
is described graphically - आविर्भव कर्मैक कृष्णस्य वाम
पार्श्वतः । धावित्वा पुष्पमानीय ददावर्ध्नि प्रभोः पदे ॥ रासे संभूय
ते लोके सा दधाव हरेः पुरः । तेन राधा समाख्याता पुराविद्धिः
द्विजोत्तम ॥ Verses 25-26, RA from RAHA and DA in dhadav
made up the word RAHA angulimudra.

